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NATO Summit Charts a Kosovo Policy: Patience

Lofty Goals Are Intoned — but No Specifics

By John Vinocur
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Without a clear prospect of ending the war in Yugoslavia, NATO talked massively about winning it at its summit-turned-war-council.

But victory was never defined in its broadest implications. NATO came out of its 50th anniversary meeting, the first held as bombs and rockets boomed, with its leaders' saying at an incantation level that the alliance would win, prevail, see this-through and set this-right, but without bringing precision to the military process of extracting Yugoslav forces from Kosovo or agreeing to a viable political formula for achieving peace.

The summit meeting produced no more real clarity on the eventual use of ground troops and no single view on whether an end to the Milosevic regime meant its capitulation or a half-life that could bury its defeat.

NEWS ANALYSIS And for all the leaders' statements guaranteeing the war's honorability in the face of barbarism in Europe, there was no attempt to justify or move away from NATO's operative aversion to risk that has blocked both air drops of food to Kosovars and low-altitude bombing runs.

As a substitute, appeals went out to the alliance's constituencies, notably from President Bill Clinton and Secretary-General Javier Solana, for great

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abiding quantities of patience.

In fact, short of a decision to sharply intensify the war — the entry into combat soon of Apache helicopters was described privately by a ministerial-level participant as movement around rather than toward deploying ground troops — all the evocation of a victory-to-come was thin on sinew and bone.

The summit participants explained victory as a compromise, minimalist notion for the alliance's four big players (the United States, France, Britain and Germany), an understanding that stopped with the idea none would settle for an outcome that was cowardly or compromised the security of genera-

Leaders Agree to Protect Frontline States

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Leaders of the 19 NATO nations, ending summit talks Sunday that were dominated by the Kosovo crisis, united behind an intensified air campaign and endorsed broad policy guidelines designed to equip NATO, as the key instrument in European security, to handle future Kosovo-type crises.

Vowing to isolate Belgrade militarily and prevent any regional spillover, the alliance leaders said they would respond to any Serbian attack on its neighboring countries where NATO was building up forces to press its attack.

"We've worked out the principles

here," a U.S. National Security Council official said, "of what NATO is already doing in Kosovo." NATO, successful for 50 years as a defensive alliance protecting the member states' territory, is being pressed by the United States to project its power beyond its traditional area to solve conflicts on Europe's periphery.

The unity of the alliance and its credibility, along with its role in the future, hang in the balance as the Kosovo conflict grinds on.

"Victory is the only exit strategy I will consider," Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain said, emphasizing that the alliance needed a clear victory to justify its promise that military intervention could end the crisis and allow

ethnic Albanians to return.

President Bill Clinton, speaking at a White House dinner, said, "I am convinced we will prevail if we have the patience."

The state dinner was for 44 leaders from NATO nations and other countries that cooperate with the alliance who had taken part in three days of ceremonies and talks for NATO's 50th anniversary.

When it emerged, the NATO summit document, called a new "strategic concept," was artfully worded to let each country offer its own interpretation of the implications, but the key points seemed to fit the U.S.-led concept that

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Allies Order Military To Plan Oil Embargo

Russia Refuses to Stop Shipments; France Backs Off Its Objections

By Joseph Fitchett
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — The NATO summit meeting, apparently united in its determination to cut oil supplies reaching Serbia, told the alliance's military commander to work out plans to intercept ships carrying oil to Serbia via the Adriatic sea, U.S. officials said Sunday.

The officials, who asked not to be identified, said that this new action to isolate Belgrade had enough backing in the alliance to ensure that effective steps would be taken, using the U.S. and European warships patrolling the region.

Objections to an embargo, spearheaded by France, reflected fears of a clash with Moscow if NATO sought to halt and search Russian ships at sea, but U.S. and British officials played down the risk of a major confrontation.

The British defense secretary, George Robertson, said: "The idea of refueling the Serb machine is not really on the Russian agenda at the moment." Privately, British and U.S. officials at the summit meeting said that Moscow seemed to be tiring of public challenges to NATO that result in exposing Russian weakness in the crisis.

President Boris Yeltsin spoke at length about the Kosovo conflict with President Bill Clinton in a telephone conversation Sunday, apparently without signaling any intention to defy NATO over the oil issue, said Samuel (Sandy) Berger, the national security adviser.

Before that conversation, the Russian foreign minister, Igor Ivanov, said on Russian television: "There are only 19 member countries in NATO, and NATO's decisions extend only to those countries that are a part of the alliance. According to international law, sanctions or embargoes can be imposed only by the UN Security Council."

Speaking to reporters in Cairo, where he was visiting, Mr. Ivanov added: "We will continue delivering oil to keep

with our international commitments."

Bombing Shatters Serbian Economy

The allied bombing has destroyed large chunks of Yugoslavia's economic infrastructure. Page 4. • The Reverend Jesse Jackson said he will fly to the Balkans to seek the release of three U.S. soldiers held by the Serbs. Page 5. • Greece is struggling between loyalty to the Western alliance and outrage over the air strikes nearby. Page 5. • Leaders of prospective NATO nations lend their support to the alliance's campaign for Kosovo. Page 5.

Although the French reportedly agreed to the plan to tighten the economic noose on Belgrade when it was discussed at the start of the summit meeting, President Jacques Chirac later warned publicly that a blockade would be an "act of war" — apparently a reference to Russia, where officials threatened publicly to continue supplying Serbia with oil. Russia has been the main supplier for Serbia, and U.S. officials said that they thought Moscow might try to continue getting some oil to Belgrade along the Danube River route.

Later, at a news conference at the French Embassy in Washington, Mr. Chirac said that there were "no divergences among the allies" about action to halt deliveries of oil products to Yugoslavia. His remarks appeared to indicate that he was satisfied that his concerns had been allayed in the closing hours of the summit meeting.

When asked about French and other reservations on the embargo, Mr. Clinton defended the plan energetically. "How can we justify risking the lives of the pilots," he said, and "then say, 'But

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President Clinton, right, and Prime Minister Blair sharing a word Sunday in Washington at a Kosovo meeting.

U.S. Buyout Firms Swarm Into Europe

Brash Raiders Till Fertile Takeover Terrain but Meet Genteel Resistance

By Laura M. Holson
New York Times Service

subtlety of Mr. Milken's now-famous Predators' Balls, the glitzy soirees where vulture investors prowled for takeover prey during the last merger craze.

"The feeling in Europe is these people are the 'Barbarians at the Gate,'" said James Bainbridge Lee, the Chase executive who organized the meeting, echoing the title of the book that chronicled the 1988 takeover battle for RJR Nabisco.

"That was one of the big myths I wanted to pop," said Mr. Lee, who is group head of Chase's global investment banking department. "Europeans think they are corporate raiders. They were surprised to find out that some of them were nice."

But despite a veneer of British gentility — tea at the opulent Claridge's hotel, for example — the gathering had all the

American buyout firms have been

flocking to Europe in recent months, chasing the wave of corporate divestitures swelling as bloated companies began to streamline.

Already, several of the best-known buyout firms — so called because they buy troubled companies with the hope of selling them later for a profit — have opened their doors: Clayton, Dubilier & Rice is planning an office in Germany; both Kohlberg, Kravis, Roberts & Co. and Hicks, Muse, Tate & Furst have set up shop in London.

With American firms having more than \$90 billion in their coffers — 25 percent of that intended for Europe alone — more are sure to follow.

See CULTURE, Page 17

Young Killer's Diary Details Year of Careful Planning

By Brian Knowlton
International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Vice President Al Gore joined thousands of mourners Sunday in Littleton, Colorado, to pay last respects to the 12 students and teacher killed in a bloody rampage Tuesday, as new details emerged to show that the two gunmen had spent a year making meticulous plans for their suicide attack.

In the first major insight into the thinking and planning behind the Columbine High School killings, the police said that one of the gunmen — they would not say which one — began keeping a diary about a year ago that laid out those plans.

The attack on Columbine High School, which also left 11 persons seriously wounded, ended when Eric Har-



A woman crying in Littleton, Colorado, at the funeral of one of the victims.

ris and Dylan Klebold turned their guns on themselves.

Mr. Gore, Governor Bill Owens and perhaps 20,000 other mourners were expected at the service for victims of the worst school shooting in U.S. history.

Mr. Owens suggested Sunday that any of the gunmen's parents might reasonably have known that their sons were building bombs or preparing firearms and failed to act; they could be charged as accomplices.

A search of one boy's room found the sawed-off barrel of a shotgun in clear view, the county sheriff said. Mr. Owens said on CBS that the possibility of charges being filed was "very real."

The police, who have been criticized for moving too slowly to stop the slaughter, said that most of those slain probably died before the first 911 emergency phone call was made, about 11:30 A.M. Tuesday. They released transcripts of the first 911 calls.

"They wanted to do as much damage

teacher calling from the library, where most of the deaths occurred. "There is a student here with a gun," the teacher said, adding that she had been wounded in the shoulder. "I've got students down," she said.

The police are examining the tapes, videotapes from surveillance cameras in

the school and tapes of cellular-phone calls placed by students in the school to local television stations, in an effort to reconstruct the crime and determine whether the shooters had help in the school on Tuesday.

"We're going to be constructing this whole scenario," said the Jefferson County sheriff, John Stone. "If there was a third, fourth or a fifth person involved, we're going to find him."

The diary contained meticulous plans for the assault, describing such details as the state of halfway lighting and the best hiding places, either for themselves or to place bombs, and saying precisely when the two planned to, as they put it, "rock and roll." It described a plan to strike the cafeteria at lunchtime to maximize the number of deaths and said the attack would end when the boys turned their guns on themselves.

"They wanted to do as much damage

as possible."

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AGENDA

London on Alert After Race Attacks

LONDON (Reuters) — British police said Sunday that white supremacists were behind a nail bomb attack that wounded seven people in a Bangladeshi area of London on Saturday, the second such incident in a week. The government warned ethnic communities to be on full alert for new attacks in what has been described as the worst outbreak of racist violence in Britain since the late 1970s.

"We're dealing here with extremely evil criminals and terrorists," Home Secretary Jack Straw said. "Until they're caught, that danger remains."

Gandhi Drops Effort To Form a Coalition

The likelihood of new elections in India grew Sunday when Sonia Gandhi, head of the Congress (I) Party, gave up her efforts to form a government.

"Some parties have put their personal interests before the interests of the nation," Mrs. Gandhi said. President K.R. Narayanan had asked her party to form a government after the Hindu nationalist coalition lost a confidence vote April 17. Page 2.

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NDA

es Stance and Libya

Clinton has eased nicely to allow food to be sold to Iran, an, officials said

resents a softening three countries the long viewed as tourism and export.

Page 10.

n U.S. Beef

Union said Wednesday that U.S. beef be 15 unless Washington the meat had no hormones. Page 11.

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www.iht.com

Large UN Presence Would Help Calm Timor, Officials Say

By Michael Richardson
International Herald Tribune

SINGAPORE — Despite reports of continued political killings and plans to partition East Timor by armed supporters of groups that want it to remain part of Indonesia, senior Australian and United Nations officials said Sunday that a proposed large-scale UN presence in the disputed territory would help calm tensions.

Foreign Minister Alexander Downer of Australia said in an interview in Singapore that Australia wanted to see UN personnel in East Timor as soon as possible after May 5, the date on which Indonesia and Portugal are expected to approve UN proposals for organizing and securing a vote there to determine whether a majority wants autonomy or independence.

The foreign ministers of Indonesia and Portugal agreed at UN-brokered talks in New York on Friday on the contents of Jakarta's wide-ranging autonomy offer that they will present to the

East Timorese. The vote is likely to take place in August, instead of July as earlier planned, to give the UN more time to prepare, and to ensure that balloting takes place in reasonably free and fair conditions.

"My own view is that it will be necessary to have hundreds of people to help with the consultation process," Mr. Downer said, referring to the UN presence. "After all, you're talking about people in the vicinity of 200 different polling stations. You've got 800,000 people in East Timor."

He said that the presence of UN civilian monitors from countries such as Australia, the United States, Japan, the Philippines, New Zealand, Brazil and members of the European Union would be "an important confidence-building measure" and help to "stabilize the security environment."

Indonesia has insisted that its army and police remain responsible for security in East Timor. As a result, it seems doubtful that any of the UN monitors will be armed, even for self-protection.

"We thought there was a strong case to have some UN policing presence, not a peacekeeping force but some police assistance under UN auspices," Mr. Downer said. "Whether that will be practical in the short-term is, I think, an open question."

Violence has increased dramatically in the former Portuguese colony, which Indonesia invaded in 1975 and annexed in 1976, since President B.J. Habibie ended Jakarta's longstanding policy of total opposition to independence for East Timor in January. He announced that if people there rejected the offer of autonomy Indonesia would consider severing its ties with the territory.

Mr. Downer will join Prime Minister John Howard of Australia, and that country's defense minister, John Moore, in Dili for talks on East Timor on Tuesday with Mr. Habibie. Australian officials said they expected the Indonesian foreign minister, Ali Alatas, and the defense minister and armed forces commander, General Wiranto, to take part in the talks. Influential elements in the Indonesian

security forces are known to want East Timor to remain part of Indonesia in case its independence encourages other parts of the secession-prone country to break away. The army and police have been weakened by the worst recession in more than 30 years, by public revulsion against their human rights abuses during the authoritarian rule of former President Suharto, and by an upsurge of ethnic, religious and political violence, as well as crime and lawlessness, in many areas.

Army and police units in East Timor have been backing pro-integration militia groups in the territory that are blamed for several recent mass killings of independence supporters in the territory's capital, Dili, and nearby Liquica.

News agency reports from Dili and Lisbon over the weekend, quoting church and human rights workers and residents, said that as many as 300 more people might have been killed by militia members in the Suai district, about 200 kilometers (120 miles) southwest of Dili, since General Wiranto presided over the signing of a peace pact between leaders

of the warring factions Wednesday. But Mr. Downer said that inquiries by Australian officials suggested that although five people in Suai may have gone missing, there was no evidence of a massacre.

Nonetheless, the evident support for the pro-integration cause of the estimated 18,000 Indonesian police and troops in East Timor has alarmed those who favor independence and raised widespread concerns about whether there can be an internationally acceptable ballot if Indonesia is responsible for security.

However, the UN special envoy for East Timor, James A. Mark, said in a weekend BBC radio interview that "the UN presence — and it's going to be a fairly massive one — should serve as a reassurance to them, because the UN cannot do anything but show fair play."

He said that the UN would ensure that the voting would be free, that there would be no tampering with ballots, and that there would be "both security and impartiality."

A prominent pro-Jakarta militia leader in East Timor said on Sunday that he was prepared to disarm his men and guarantee peace ahead of the vote if pro-independence guerrillas did the same. Reuters reported from Dili.

But the militia leader, Eurico Guterres, said that he could never accept independence for the territory and called for it to be split if the vote favored leaving Indonesia.

He said that East Timor should be partitioned into an independent eastern sector and an Indonesian western sector if a majority opted for independence.

The western half of Timor Island has been an Indonesian province since Indonesia declared independence from Dutch colonial rule in 1949.

Fighting in Moluccas

Violence continued Sunday on the remote Indonesian island of Tual, where up to 150 people are believed to have been killed in days of pitched battles between Christians and Moslems, Reuters reported from Jakarta, quoting witnesses.

"I can still hear gunshots," one local journalist said.

The Moluccas Islands, which include Tual, have been ripped apart by months of sectarian violence, among the worst of the regional Indonesian outbreaks.

Military officials in nearby Ambon, capital of the Moluccas, said they had no casualty figures.

Witnesses said most of the victims were killed by homemade grenades and gasoline bombs hurled by both groups.

The violence in Tual is the latest in a wave of conflict to hit the islands, home to large numbers of Christians in an otherwise predominantly Muslim country.

Philippine Rebels Free Last Hostage

MANILA — Communist rebels freed the last of five military and police captives Sunday on a mountain just south of Manila, possibly opening the way for Philippine peace talks to resume.

The Marxist rebels released Sergeant Wivino Demol after 14 months of captivity. Sergeant Demol cried as he hugged his wife and children and said the rebels had treated him well.

"The government is ready to resume the peace talks immediately," President Joseph Estrada said Sunday. He had suspended talks after the rebels abducted several military officers in February, apparently to demonstrate their strength during negotiations.

But the president reiterated several conditions, including holding the talks in the Philippines and finishing them this year. Rebel leaders have refused to negotiate in the Philippines for security reasons. They have been fighting for a Marxist state since the 1960s. (AP)

New Korea Talks

GENEVA — Talks on ways to reduce tension on the Korean Peninsula began Sunday in Geneva.

Teams from North Korea, South Korea, the United States and China began discussions Saturday on a lasting peace, the latest in talks that have taken place every three months since late 1997.

But a smaller group of experts began the first-ever technical sessions on "confidence-building" measures Sunday.

Measures under discussion include a communications channel between North Korean and South Korean forces, exchanging visits between officers, notifying each other in advance of military exercises, and setting up a humanitarian corridor across the demilitarized zone, U.S. officials said.

A senior U.S. official in Washington said that officials from North Korea and the United States were to meet concurrently to review a March accord allowing U.S. officials access to a suspected North Korean nuclear-weapons site. (AP)

Calls to Free Lama

KATMANDU — More than 1,500 Tibetans gathered in Katmandu Sunday to celebrate the 10th birthday of the Panchen Lama and call for Chinese authorities to release him from house arrest.

Tibetan monks and devotees lit lamps and released balloons during the gathering at the Swayambhu Monastery in the Nepalese capital.

The Assembly of Tibetan People's Deputies distributed leaflets showing Gedhun Choekyi Nyima, the second-most-important spiritual leader for Tibetan Buddhists after the Dalai Lama. The leaflets described the Panchen Lama as "the youngest political prisoner in the world."

"This would partly contribute to North Korea's military buildup," said Koh Il Dong, a North Korea expert at the Korea Development Institute. "But even if the deal was not realized, North Korea would still stockpile for military purposes."

Mr. Koh says that the tourism arrangement will reduce the risk that North Korea will do something rash.

"It's a goose that lays the golden egg," he said. "Are they going to kill it?" (AP)

Gandhi Gives Up Bid To Form a Coalition

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW DELHI — The leader of the Congress (I) Party, Sonia Gandhi, on Sunday dropped efforts to form a new government and said her party would not support other groups, increasing the likelihood of new elections.

President K.R. Narayanan had asked Congress, the second-largest party in Parliament, to form a government after the ruling Hindu nationalist coalition lost a confidence vote April 17.

"I told the president that I tried my best but I have not been able to get enough support," Mrs. Gandhi told reporters after meeting with Mr. Narayanan, India's constitutional figurehead.

"There is no question of supporting any third or fourth front," she said, referring to efforts by Communists and Socialists to form a government.

"Some people have put their personal interests before the interests of the nation," she said.

"You know who they are better than I do."

The announcement appeared to open the way for the third general election in three years. No single party has a clear majority in Parliament.

Asked whether fresh elections were now inevitable, Mrs. Gandhi said the decision lay with Mr. Narayanan.

"Whatever the president decides, we will abide by," she said. "We have been working all along as a responsible opposition and we will continue to do this."

The coalition led by the Bharatiya Janata Party lost the April 17 confidence poll by one vote.

The party has in the meantime given the president a list of 270 lawmakers in the 543-seat Parliament who support its coalition.

Bharatiya Janata leaders insist the party can build a new government, and have asked Mr. Narayanan for another chance.

Many experts have argued

that such a move would be unconstitutional, but opposition to another election is so strong that the president may decide any election is preferable to early voting.

Later Sunday, the ousted prime minister, Atal Bihari Vaj-

payee, met with Mr. Narayanan, but it did not appear the president had given Mr. Vajpayee the nod to try again at forming a government. If he did not, that would force India to call its third election in as many years.

Mr. Vajpayee said his care-

taker cabinet would meet Monday. Only the cabinet can recommend elections; the president then formally asks the independent Elections Commission for a new vote, which would have to be completed within six months. (AP, AFP)

Prime Minister Atal Bihari Vajpayee after a meeting Sunday with the Indian president.

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taker cabinet would meet Monday. Only the cabinet can recommend elections; the president then formally asks the independent Elections Commission for a new vote, which would have to be completed within six months. (AP, AFP)

As Koreans Visit North, Critics Fear Tourist Cash Will Pay for Guns

By Sheryl WuDunn
New York Times Service

SEOUL — Thousands of South Korean tourists will spend time this summer on mountain trails in an unlikely place: North Korea.

In one of the most visible breakthroughs for President Kim Dae Jung's "sunshine" policy toward the North, South Koreans began taking tour ships there in November; this summer they may even be able to relax on enemy beaches.

Mr. Kim's aim is to demonstrate to North Korea's secretive Stalinist dictatorship that it will be better off if it cooperates with the South and opens up its economy. But critics worry that camera-toting tourists could conceivably end up as hostages and are also con-

cerned that the Hyundai industry group, which is investing in the six-year tourist project, will turn over nearly \$1 billion to North Korea, the longtime enemy of the South.

Hyundai has transferred \$25 million a month since December to a North Korean bank account in Macau in exchange for the right to develop a tourist site on the scenic Kumgang Mountain. In June, the amount will drop to \$8 million a month.

The risk is that the North will spend that money on guns aimed at the South. The two Koreas have technically been at war for more than 45 years, and the border between them has the greatest massing of hostile troops in the world.

The North could also spend the cash on sorely needed food and medicine.

This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices may be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this weekend because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Algeria, Australia, Bahrain, Iran, Pakistan, Tanzania.

TUESDAY: Bahrain, Bangladesh, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Sierra Leone, Slovenia, South Africa, Togo, Yugoslavia.

THURSDAY: Japan, Kuwait, Sri Lanka.

FRIDAY: Denmark, India, Iran, Netherlands, Sri Lanka, Vietnam.

SATURDAY: All countries except Armenia, Australia, Azerbaijan, Bahamas, Bermuda, Bhutan, Britain, Canada, Denmark, Georgia, Ireland, Indonesia, Iran, Jamaica, Japan, Kuwait, Liberia, Libya, Mongolia, Nepal, Netherlands, New Zealand, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Sierra Leone, Sudan, Trinidad, Turkey, Turkmenistan, United Arab Emirates, United States.

SUNDAY: Macedonia, Russia, Slovenia, Yugoslavia.

Sources: Bloomberg, Reuters

TRAVEL UPDATE

Air France Staff Prolongs Strike at Airport in Nice

NICE (AFP) — Air France workers at the airport in this Mediterranean resort city decided Sunday to continue a strike over job security until Monday.

The strike, by ground staff members protesting Air France's plans to turn over some of its services to contractors, has severely disrupted Riviera travel.

The first meeting between strikers and management since Tuesday ended Saturday without a solution to the 11-day labor action.

Vatican Names a Security Panel

Agence France-Presse

VATICAN CITY — The Vatican has established a committee to toughen security during celebrations next year of the 2,000th anniversary of the birth of Christ, the daily *Il Messaggero* said Sunday.

Some 25 million tourists and pilgrims are expected to converge on Rome for the festivities organized by the Roman Catholic Church.

The committee will "collect useful information and coordinate measures required to ensure security," according to a decree signed by Cardinal Edmund Szoka, president of Vatican City's Pontifical Commission, on March 26.

Members will "elaborate and propose security and risk-prevention measures," the decree said.

WEATHER

Europe

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THE AMERICAS

Soul-Searching in School Tragedy Yields Many Warnings but Few Answers

By David Von Drehle
Washington Post Service

LITTLETON, Colorado — People have come by the thousands to Clement Park to gaze at the center of the horrible mystery. They have followed winding paths to the dirty yellow police tape, or trudged through sopping late-spring snow to the top of a bluff where, spread out below them, Columbine High School quietly lies.

What went on in there? By now the world has read the chilling story of the laughing killers, heard the terrified screams and relentless gunshots. But it is not the ghoulish "what" or the gruesome "how" that draws these thousands, so much as the inscrutable "whys." Why was didn't anyone see it coming? Why was such hatred allowed to fester? Why did this happen, and why here?

Columbine High School perceived itself as a warm nest of achievement. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold perceived it quite differently: a nest of tension, bullies and cliques; a school dominated by a handful of confident, aggressive athletes who were emulated by many, feared by some and despised by a few.

Both images have elements of truth. And in this paradox may lie some lessons of the Columbine tragedy.

Millions of words have been written and spoken of Columbine High School in the past week, but it is possible to divide most into two distinct piles, one marked "warnings" and the other marked "no warnings." Each pile adds up to its own picture of life at Columbine High School and of the place in it occupied by Mr. Klebold and Mr. Harris.

First, the warnings: The guidance counselor, Ryan

Collins, says flatly that harassment is not tolerated at Columbine, but for children on the receiving end it could create an ostracizing and mean-spirited environment. A parent named Stephen Greene says that his son was taunted by athletic jocks because he is Jewish, and that administrators ignored his complaints until he threatened a lawsuit.

Michelle Shoels, 15, and Corrie Whitfield, 16, two of a small number of black students who attend Columbine, echo the charge. They said they complained to a dean of students about racial slurs in the hallways. "White kids walk by and they'll say derogatory names to us. We bring it to the administrators and they mark it as a 'warning,'" Corrie recalled last week. No action was taken until she and a white girl nearly came to blows, she said, and then both of them were suspended.

Joseph Stair, 18, a founder of the group that has come to be known as the Trench Coat Mafia, said of his small band of outcasts and the larger clique of athletes: "We hated each other. Joseph and others in the 'TCM' allege that they were called 'faggots' and that jocks threw rocks and bottles at them.

The outcasts in turn were cruel to others. Michael Shoels is father to Michelle and to a son, Isaiah, who was killed by Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold. He said in interviews after the shootings that his son had complained to him of racial abuse from the students in trenchcoats, but that he had counseled his son to ignore the problem. Isaiah, too, was briefly suspended after a confrontation with a white student.

In this tough and stratified universe, Mr. Harris, 18, and Mr. Klebold, 17, were friendly with the trenchcoaters, but not

sufficiently part of the fringe group to appear in their yearbook picture last year. They didn't eat at the "mafia" lunch table, one member told the Denver Post.

Some people now say they recognized this isolated pair as strange, disturbing characters. A student, Michael Staver, said he saw the pair recently marching through the halls and jostling kids in their path. Other students report that, in their 6:30 A.M. bowling class, they celebrated strikes with the Nazi salute.

But they added that nothing they saw especially worried them or seemed like an infraction requiring official attention.

In a few murky cases, however, people are said to have alerted the administration. And a few others with them had.

Another warning, this one delivered directly inside the school, has been reported in the Denver Rocky Mountain News: Teacher Cheryl Lucas sup-

posedly told unnamed school administrators that Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold "write hate stories and hate letters" and might have a potential for violence. "We weren't expecting anything this bad, but we did see signs that these kids were disturbed."

The teacher went on to say that the concerns were vague and there was no obvious solution: "There's nothing that permits us to take action based on signs."

But reaching twice by The Washington Post, Ms. Lucas insisted she had said no such thing. She believes another teacher reported concerns, and that the News reporter got them confused. But Ms. Lucas refused to provide that teacher's name.

Another warning: Chris Reilly, a student, says Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold made a video last fall for a class assignment that showed them walking through school fixing guns (apparently fake) at friends dressed as jocks. A friend, Eric Veik, had said he helped the pair make other videos in a similar violent vein that he has turned over to investigators.

But at least one classmate said the video could easily be perceived as a spoof. Garrett Talocco, the teacher who made the assignment, declined to discuss the video or the class.

CNN reported Friday that psychology teacher, Tom Johnson, taught Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold. He asked his students to write essays on their dreams. One of the two gunmen described a dream in which the pair went on a killing spree. Mr. Johnson was said to be guilt-stricken, wondering whether he should have reported this. The teacher could not be reached for further details.

Why did nobody do anything? Perhaps because of the large pile of information marked "no warnings."

Columbine High School is a fine public school that sends 85 percent of its graduates to college. State-of-the-art when it was opened in 1973, it was given a \$13 million renovation after just 20 years of use. It is surrounded by acres of parkland and quiet neighborhoods. A recent graduating class of less than 500 collected nearly 200 academic and athletic scholarships.

"We scoured the city to find a great neighborhood and a great school, somewhere the girls would be safe," Don Fleming told a reporter last week. His daughter Kelly died in the shootings.

Mr. Harris and Mr. Klebold were "normal high school kids," said Chris Lau, the boy's boss at Blackjack Pizza, a franchise where they made and delivered pies. A boy who played with Mr. Harris for several years on a recreation league soccer team, Jason Romaniec, 17, called him "the funniest guy on the team. You could hardly take him seriously."

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initial explanation contrasted with another this month in a column of a road nears them for the news had indeed mentioned only mistake publicly. so quickly that Javier Solana, / afternoon, he

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Students embracing at a makeshift memorial for their slain classmates at Columbine High School.

By John Noble Wilford
New York Times ServiceSCHOOL:
Killer's Diary Found

Continued from Page 1

as they could possibly do and destroy the school and destroy as many children as they could, to go out in flames," Sheriff Stone said. "They expected to die."

He said the young men were "going for a big kill."

The diary, which Sheriff Stone said was in one boy's handwriting but clearly reflected planning by both, was sprinkled with German words and full of references to Nazi Germany. It was no accident, he said, that the attack took place on April 20, the 11th anniversary of Hitler's birthday.

The police and the friends and family members of victims continued to express anger and bitterness at the ease with which the boys prepared for their attack, apparently without it coming to the attention of parents or others.

Sheriff Stone said that in one of the boy's rooms, the barrel that had been cut off a shotgun was clearly visible, along with other suspicious materials.

"The parents should have been aware of it," he said with contained anger. "I think I would be a little concerned about my son's room if I were in there and I found sawed-off shotgun barrels."

In addition, a neighbor has described the racket caused the night before the attack when, apparently, the two boys smashed a large bag of bottles so they could pack broken glass around their bombs.

The 150 investigators working on the case began reinterviewing some witnesses over the weekend. They have catalogued about 2,000 pieces of evidence, including bomb fragments and spent shotgun shells.

Recent DNA research had appeared to show that the two had not interbred. Neanderthals lived in Europe and western Asia from 300,000 years ago until the last of them disappeared on the Iberian peninsula about 28,000 years ago. The prevailing theory, modern humans arose in Africa less than 200,000 years ago and started appearing in great numbers in Europe about 40,000 years ago.

The discovery of a hybrid could, at long last, resolve the question of what happened to the Neanderthals, the stocky, heavy-browed "cave men." They may have merged with modern humans, called Cro-Magnons, who appear to have arrived in Europe with a superior tool culture. In that case, some Neanderthal genes survive in most Europeans and people of European descent.

The skeleton of the boy, buried with strings of shells and painted with red ochre, was uncovered in December by Portuguese archaeologists led by Joao Zilhao, director of the Institute of Archaeology in Lisbon. They found it in the Lapedo Valley near Leria, 145 kilometers (90 miles) north of Lisbon. Realizing its potential significance, Mr. Zilhao called in Mr. Trinkaus, an authority on Neanderthal paleontology.

The boy, who was about 4 years old when he died, had the prominent chin and other facial characteristics of a fully modern human. But his stocky body and short legs were those of a Neanderthal. Mr. Trinkaus compared the limb proportions with those of Neanderthal skeletons, including some children. Then he was sure he said, of the skeleton's implications.

"It's a complex mosaic, which is what you get when you have a hybrid," Mr. Trinkaus said. "This is the first definite evidence of admixture between Neanderthals and European early modern humans."

The age of the skeleton, determined by radiocarbon dating, showed that full Neanderthals had apparently died out at least 4,000 years before the boy was born. Mr. Trinkaus said this meant that the boy had not been the result of a rare mating but was a descendant of generations of Neanderthal-Cro-Magnon hybrids.

Away From Politics

Thousands of people, some of whom had traveled as far as France, attended a rally in Philadelphia to demand a new trial for Mumia Abu-Jamal, the former Black Panther who was sentenced to death for the 1981 killing of a police officer, Daniel Faulkner. (AP)

Police discovered and disarmed five bombs early Saturday that had been planted just outside police stations in the Montreal area. About 400 officers made a late-night search around 21 police stations after an anonymous caller directed them to a phone booth that contained a letter warning that bombs had been

planted outside the stations. No one claimed to have planted the bombs, and the letter did not say why police stations had been targeted. (AP)

Monica Lewinsky, the former White House intern, became so distraught by the questions Mata Lane asked her on NBC's "Today" show Saturday that she canceled a series of national radio interviews she had promised to do that afternoon. Her publicist at St. Martin's Press, which published her book, "Monica's Story," later said she would not do any more interviews in the United States. (WP)

Venezuelans Cast Votes
On Redoing Constitution
Opponents Fear 'Complete Power' for PresidentBy Larry Rohter
New York Times Service

CARACAS — For the past month, President Hugo Chavez of Venezuela has been demanding that Congress be dissolved and threatening to declare a state of emergency, which would allow him to rule by decree.

He has also said he would disband the Supreme Court after it rebuked him as exceeding his authority. And he has derided leaders of the main opposition party as "a nest of dying venomous vipers."

Against that contentious backdrop, Venezuelans went to the polls Sunday to vote on convening a constitutional congress that would write a new charter for the country. If they approve the proposal, as expected, Mr. Chavez is more likely to get the expanded powers he wants, soon.

Advisers to the president say his purpose in stirring up turbulence recently was to ensure that his supporters turned out to vote.

At the peak of the confrontation two weeks ago, the president's followers blocked the entrance to Congress for two days, shouting insults at lawmakers and stopping them from entering or leaving the building. On Thursday, an abashed, discredited and weary Congress approved a law giving Mr. Chavez fast-track authority to rule by decree on economic matters for the next six months.

But the president has made clear he will settle for nothing less than a complete overhaul of the Venezuelan state.

"Institutions in Venezuela have broken into pieces," he said in March, "and it is necessary to rebuild them."

"Until we reconstruct the architecture of a political system that has lost legitimacy and ethical content, whose powers are worn-eaten and decadent," President Chavez said, "it will not be possible to carry out an integrated national project of social, economic, politi-

cal and cultural development."

But opposition leaders say the president's real objective is to establish a dictatorship under the cloak of law. They point out that Mr. Chavez has said he wants any new constitution to allow him a second consecutive five-year term, something the current charter prohibits.

In an open letter last week, former President Rafael Caldera said that his conscience would not let him take part in a vote he described as aimed at destroying, not strengthening, the rule of law. He called Mr. Chavez's insistence on eliminating the prohibition on consecutive terms particularly dangerous.

Senator Alberto Franceschi, a member of the Project Venezuela Party, said: "He wants us to give him a blank check, to sign everything over to him. He wants complete power, as in a banana republic, so that his followers can go to the constituent assembly and propose a tropical monarchy with Chavez as emperor."

Questions also have been raised about the government's efforts to ensure that voters endorse the constitutional congress. Citing equal-time provisions in the electoral code, the National Electoral Commission last week ordered the president's press office to stop official advertisements and television commercials urging a "Yes" vote.

But Mr. Chavez's calls to sweep away an inefficient state apparatus seem to have struck a deep chord among Venezuelans, many of whom feel that the country's vast oil wealth — the country is the largest exporter of oil to the United States — has been squandered. Recent polls show that Mr. Chavez, who won 57 percent of the vote in the presidential election in December, has a job approval rating of more than 80 percent at the moment.

"The constitution of 1961 is a straitjacket that needs to be removed," said Jose Cabeza, a bellhop at a hotel in Caracas. "It was drawn up not to enable the people to express their will but to permit a pack of corrupt politicians to line their pockets and perpetuate themselves in power."

Mr. Chavez is a 44-year-old former lieutenant colonel who tried to overthrow an elected civilian government in 1992. Afterward he was cashiered from the army and spent two years in jail. But since declaring as an independent candidate last year, he has been calling for a "peaceful revolution."

Upon taking office, Mr. Chavez immediately began calling for a new constitution to bring, he said, "a true democracy" to Venezuela. His proposal calls for a constitutional assembly of 131 elected members.

On other matters, such as his plans for a faltering economy and rebalancing oil exports, he has been less outspoken.

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NDA

es Stance and Libya

Clinton has eased policy to allow food is to be sold to Iran, an, officials said presents a softening three countries as long viewed as terrorism and export. Page 10.

n U.S. Beef

Union said Wed- could ban U.S. beef ac 15 unless Wash- e meat had no hormones. Page 11.

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The Battle for Kosovo / Chipping Away at Yugoslavia

NATO Raids Shatter Serb Economy

Extensive Attacks Leave Control of Kosovo Intact

By Michael Dobbs
Washington Post Service

BELGRADE — As the NATO air campaign against Yugoslavia enters its second month, allied bombing has achieved one significant result: the destruction of large chunks of the country's economic infrastructure.

The economy, already reeling from the effects of eight years of international sanctions and decades of mismanagement, is being dismantled piece by piece. Yugoslav officials say that the damage from NATO bombs has reached the \$10 billion mark. By some estimates, the bombing has set Yugoslavia back one or even two decades.

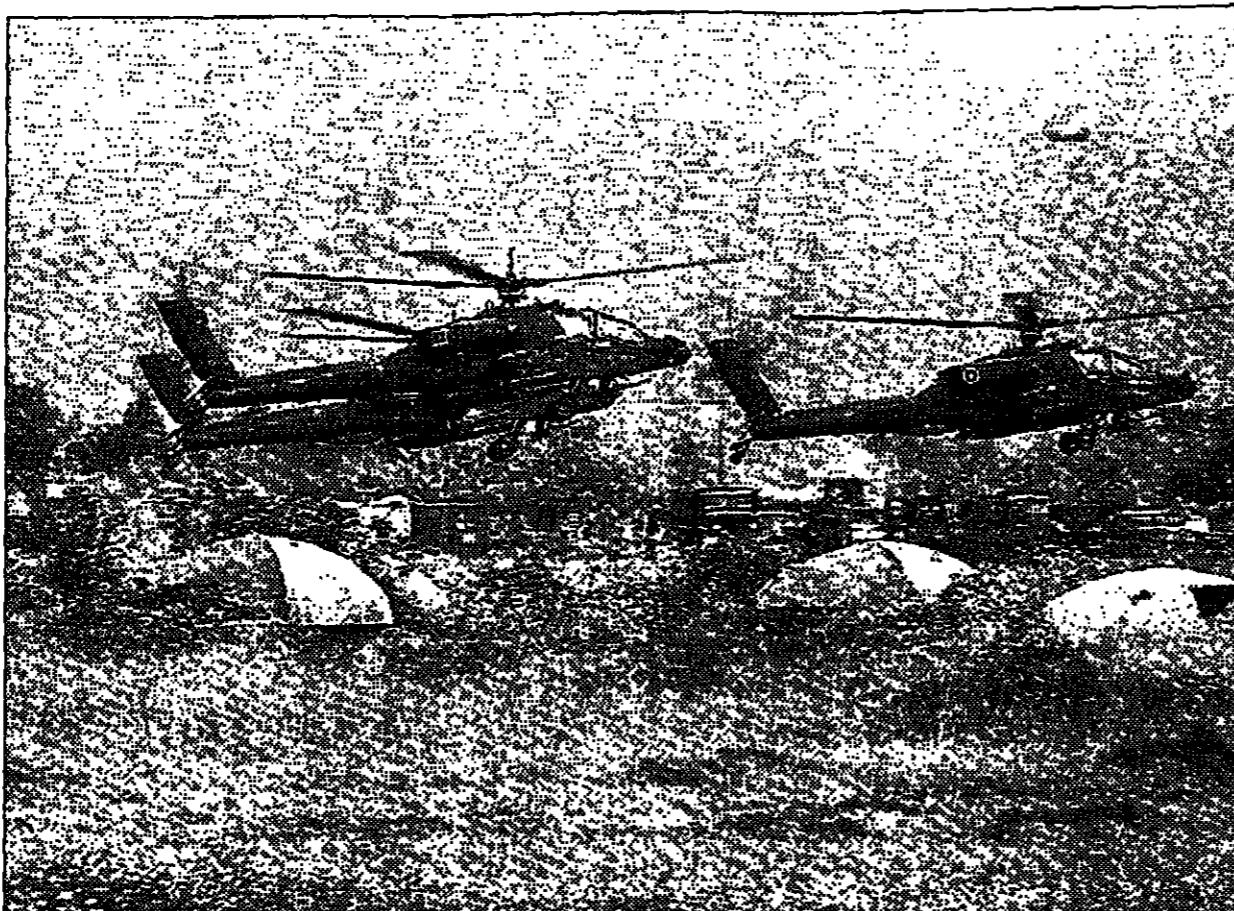
While NATO air attacks have not loosened the Yugoslav military's stranglehold on the Serbian province of Kosovo and its ethnic Albanian inhabitants, they have devastated targets ranging from the country's two biggest oil refineries, in Pancevo and Novi Sad, to the Zastava factory at Kragujevac, which produced the Yugo car and employed some 15,000 workers.

The bombing has cut all but one of the bridges across the Danube River, severely limiting communication between the agricultural region of Vojvodina in the north and the rest of Yugoslavia.

Other targets have included chemical, drug, cigarette, shoe and light aircraft factories as well as television transmitters, railroad stations and airports.

The bombings have slowed the country's economic life to a virtual standstill. Schools and universities have been closed, and hundreds of thousands of factory workers have been laid off. To save fuel, Belgrade authorities have reduced the number of public buses from 1,000 to 500.

The economic effects of the bombing are clearly visible in Krusevac, a city of 150,000 people that in the 14th century was the capital of an empire that included much of present-day Yugoslavia, Albania and Greece. Today, Krusevac is in a sorry state. With the destruction of its largest factories by NATO bombs, unemployment is escalating, and prospects



Three Apache attack helicopters passing over Communist-era pillboxes Sunday on the way to landing in Tirana, Albania, as NATO reinforced its forces there with seven more Apaches and six Blackhawk helicopters.

for economic reconstruction seem bleak.

On April 12, NATO warplanes attacked a heating plant on the edge of the town, reducing it to a smoldering heap of rubble and twisted metal. They went on to hit the region's biggest factory, the October 14 plant, which produced bulldozers, excavators and other heavy machinery. What was left standing was destroyed in a second raid three days later.

"This was the biggest heavy-machinery plant in the Balkans," said Nebojsa Toskovic, the factory's deputy general manager, as he took reporters on a tour of the ruins. "Without machinery from this factory, the country will be unable to reconstruct all the bridges and everything else that has been destroyed by NATO."

NATO officials contend that the October 14 plant was producing military materials and was therefore a legitimate target, but they have not produced conclusive evidence to support their claim. People here fail to see how the destruction of the October 14 factory in Krusevac and the nearby heating plant will help advance NATO war aims in Kosovo. Some suspect that the factory was destroyed

simply because it was an easy target. It is

much easier to hit a fixed target such as a factory or a bridge than to go after security forces in Kosovo, who are well hidden and constantly on the move.

Despite more than four weeks of bombing, Kosovo remains under the firm control of Yugoslav Army and Serbian security forces; ethnic Albanians continue to be driven from their homes, and the political position of Mr. Milosevic appears stronger than ever.

There is little evidence that either Mr. Milosevic or Serbs in general are about to crack under the strain. Having already lost their jobs and their livelihoods, the workers at the October 14 factory would seem to have little left to lose by further resistance to NATO and therefore little incentive to support a peace deal that would create what amounts to an international protectorate for Kosovo, which Serbs regard as the cradle of their civilization.

"This is an attack against the Serb people," said Miroslav Andrejic, a security guard who was on duty the night NATO bombed the October 14 plant. "People are bitter and confused. No one

believed that we would be attacked by the West."

The government is already making plans for the economic reconstruction of the country, using domestic resources. Many of these plans are based on Yugoslavia's experience after World War II, when brigades of enthusiastic "volunteers" were mobilized for big projects such as the Zagreb-Belgrade highway. Without large-scale investment, however, rebuilding technologically sophisticated plants such as the Zastava car factory and the October 14 plant will be difficult.

■ NATO Hits TV and Barracks

NATO bombed targets across Yugoslavia on Sunday, halting television broadcasts and hitting a barracks and chemical plant. Reuters reported from Washington.

In a relatively quiet 32d night of air raids, hampered by clouds, NATO warplanes bombed a chemical plant in central Serbia and a barracks and industrial sites in the southern city of Nis.

Serbian television went off the air for several hours after an attack on a transmitter near Belgrade.

GOALS: Long on Ideals, Short on Specifics

Continued from Page 1

tions to come.

But beyond the terms laid out by NATO when the bombing began on March 24 for a withdrawal of President Slobodan Milosevic's forces from Kosovo and four other elements, the summit meeting's victory discussion came out short on scope. The broadest questions had no answers here:

- How much of the force entering Kosovo would NATO provide, and was the alliance, with the United States at its head, going to be the main political element in determining the future of the Balkans?

- Was the United States really signing on to prosecute a war and then turn over management of the outcome to a committee that would include NATO allies but also Russia, the United Nations and the European Union?

Demanding definitions now of what winning or prevailing meant on these points, the participant suggested, was certain to cause trouble.

But in public, at one of his news conferences, President Jacques Chirac of France described a victory he said was already at hand. It was, he explained, the demonstration that human rights had been elevated in the West to the point where citizens of NATO countries would authorize military action to protect them.

"There are just wars," he said, "and this war will have taught us that."

Mr. Chirac appeared radiant, as if he, very much like his European counterparts, Prime Minister Tony Blair of Britain and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany, was confident of having a very good war.

The level of satisfaction was such that it exposed a certainty: If there were any real victories coming out of the Yugoslav engagement so far, they were less over the Milosevic regime than for the national strategic goals of each of NATO's central component countries in Europe. Only the United States appeared hard-pressed to argue that it was prevailing, too.

France, which continues officially to stand outside the alliance's military wing, scored notable points. Its strong military participation served to legitimize its stance at NATO's edge, demonstrating it could be a loyal ally while taking an independent, even provocative stance on other issues.

From the point of view of French policy-making, its full participation in the war demonstrates that it is the indispensable European country, capable militarily in ways that Germany still cannot rival, while engaged in the affairs of the European Union in a manner that is beyond the reach of Britain.

Mr. Chirac's proposal that the EU — "naturally," he said Friday — take over the administration of Kosovo after the war is meant to single France out as the driving political-military force in Europe. And its efforts to limit the use of unilateral U.S. power through institutional bodies like the UN Security Council can now appear more like sincere concerns than eternally crabby anti-Americanism.

Indeed, in two news conferences, Mr. Chirac avoided any specific mention of NATO or the United States in talking about the international force that would enter Kosovo as part of a victory scenario.

For Britain, the Yugoslav situation has allowed Mr. Blair to re-emphasize the uniqueness of his country's ability to maintain especially confident relations with the United States from within a European context. Of all the alliance leaders in Washington, Mr. Blair was the only one with a clear impact on Congress, offering a message understood as placing more reliance on a military solution than the U.S. government's.

At the same time, Britain's high-profile involvement helps to maintain it as an essential element in discussions of Europe's strategic future and tends to cancel out the perception of Britain within the EU as less than fully European, standing outside the European Monetary Union.

Within Europe, the war has also pointed to the significance of Britain's efforts with France to establish a European component of the alliance that would be able to call on U.S. military assets for interventions that did not include American participation. The initiative would have no chance of success in American

eyes without the now reaffirmed place of Britain as a uniquely trusted associate.

The victories close to home extend to Germany, whose support for the bombing and dispatch of aircraft is regarded by Mr. Schroeder's government as a demonstration of how much the country has emerged as a co-equal within the alliance's leadership and concert of nations.

The chancellor's own performance, including statements that the war "will be won because it must be won," has given him an appearance of solidity and confidence that had escaped Mr. Schroeder during a generally ineffective first five months in power.

Both France and Germany, with an interest in future partnerships, considered that they won meaningful battles in advocating Russia's now acknowledged role in seeking a Kosovo solution.

If the war went no further, Mr. Schroeder would undoubtedly be pleased to pocket his gains. His victories, however, could be diminished through resistance to deployment of ground troops by trade unions; church organizations; his coalition partner, the Greens, and the left wing of his own party.

For the Americans, there have been no intermediate private victories of the kind that can only provide satisfaction to the French, British and Germans. The United States deals rather with obligations: to provide about four-fifths of the aircraft in the theater, but moreover to make certain, in its view, that the alliance actually does prevail and that the terms of victory do not diminish NATO as guarantor of security in large parts of the world.

So far, there was nothing besides the American statements of intent to indicate that this was destined to be.

EMBARGO: Alliance Orders Plan

Continued from Page 1

it's O.K. with us if people want to continue to supply this nation and its outlaw actions in Kosovo in another way."

■ Clark Wants to Stop Oil

Dana Priest and Bradley Graham of The Washington Post reported earlier from Washington:

General Wesley Clark, the supreme NATO commander, particularly wants to interdict oil shipments coming into the Adriatic port of Bar in Montenegro, which is the smaller partner with Serbia in the Yugoslav federation.

The oil shipments, which grew to 50,000 metric tons over the last three weeks, are being used by Yugoslav forces in the crackdown against ethnic Albanian guerrillas and civilians in the Serbian province of Kosovo.

NATO defense ministers have also discussed bombing and mining ports and oil shipment routes in Montenegro, European and U.S. officials said.

But they have expressed reluctance to embrace these tactics for fear that they might alienate the Western-oriented government of President Milo Djukanovic of Montenegro.

Oil refineries and storage tanks have been a primary target of NATO air strikes since the first day of bombardment March 24, but sea routes were not on the list.

"It's absurd we didn't have a blockade at the start," said retired Admiral Leighton (Snuffy) Smith, a former commander of NATO's southern region.

NATO has used its strikes against fuel-related targets as its most concrete example that the air war is working.

Pentagon and NATO defense officials say air strikes have cut the Yugoslav army's fuel supply by 70 percent and destroyed oil refineries in Novi Sad and Pancevo.

But U.S. intelligence reports show that Yugoslavia has been able to import oil from Russia, Ukraine and Greece. Many of the shipments first arrive at a port in Koper, Slovenia. From there, they are being picked up by other ships and brought to Bar, these reports say.

The NATO defense ministers settled on an approach they called "visi and search" as less intrusive than a full blockade. Pentagon officials said. But it was unclear what NATO ships would do if a vessel refused to be searched.



President Jacques Chirac of France, left, and Chancellor Gerhard Schroeder of Germany during a NATO meeting Sunday in Washington.

SUMMIT: Leaders Stick With Air War and Agree to Protect Frontline Countries Against Intimidation by Serbia

Continued from Page 1

the alliance must equip itself militarily and politically for future Kosovo-style interventions.

On the most controversial point, whether or not NATO always needs a UN Security Council mandate to take military action or can decide on intervention alone, as the member countries did on Kosovo, the United States accepted compromise language that U.S. officials said preserved the essentials of NATO's freedom of action.

The document did not stipulate that NATO would operate "under the authority of the Security Council." That phrase, they said, had been pushed by France but rejected by allies who feared it would give Russia a veto over NATO actions.

NATO is, in fact, far from defeating President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia.

A month into the air campaign in the Balkans, Yugoslavia has withheld nearly 3,000 combat raids and shown no signs of breaking. Mr. Milosevic has succeeded in expelling hundreds of thousands of ethnic Albanians from Kosovo, routing the rebels fighting for independence and strengthening his support among Serbs.

The allied campaign has stumbled over problems foreseeable and unforeseeable, from political limitations on its early strikes to incooperative weather to surprisingly effective tactics by Yugoslav air defenses that keep NATO pilots guessing.

The air defenses have forced the alliance to change its raids, putting off the low-flying patrols that could make a difference against the Yugoslav tanks and artillery that are battering villages in Kosovo. The 24 Apache attack helicopters that arrived in Albania to much fanfare last week now are not expected to begin flying combat strikes for many more days or weeks, officials said, in large part because NATO raids have not knocked out enough of the air defenses to make them safe.

"I don't know what's been done right here," said Michael Dugan, a general who served as chief of staff of the U.S. Air Force. "The air war has been carried out without much political will or military decisiveness."

It is difficult to assess winners and losers after only one month of conflict: 30 days after Iraqi forces seized Kuwait in August 1990, for example, it was unclear how Washington and its allies would evict them.

In the Pentagon's latest damage assessment, the director of intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Rear Admiral Thomas Wilson, described Yugoslavia's military and police forces as being "badly strained, running low on fuel and ammunition and harassed by a down-but-not-out Kosovo Liberation Army."

But Yugoslavia's forces have been resilient. A defense intelligence official said forces in the field had learned from Iraq's mistakes in the Gulf War, and, rather than confronting NATO airpower head-on, they have tried with some success to slip out of its reach.

"They went to school," the official said. "They've learned how to offset our advantages."

And it was only a matter of hours after

Other frontline states are Albania, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Croatia, Macedonia, Romania and Slovenia, all of which want to join the alliance. They see membership and economic aid as possible rewards for their willingness to confront domestic tensions and the risk of Serbian reprisals.

Maintaining regional stability while eroding Serbian strength was the formula for success, Mr. Clinton said. "If we are prepared to take the time, and do our very best to care for the refugees as best we can in the meanwhile and to provide stability and support for the frontline states."

Mr. Clinton, who was one of the leaders most reluctant about a ground war, summit participants said, appealed repeatedly for people to allow the air campaign time to succeed.

In a closed-door briefing for the leaders, General Wesley Clark, NATO's commander, told alliance leaders that air strikes alone eventually would break the Serbian military grip on Kosovo.

British pressure for a ground campaign succeeded in getting that option "back on the table," military strategists involved in the consultations said. Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said, "We are not planning an armed invasion." But British officials insisted that there was growing recognition that troops were going to be needed at some point.

NATO leaders made several decisions that will ratchet up the air campaign.

They authorized General Clark to strike military targets as fast as possible to take advantage of NATO's improving air reconnaissance and to capitalize on weather breaks.

The previous system, which required approval from NATO ambassadors of nightly target lists, proved too cumbersome. General Clark will have an expanded list of targets, but there will still be a master list approved by NATO ambassadors and reflecting some political constraints against an all-out air assault on Serbia.

The United States and Britain announced that they were moving troop reinforcements into Albania, which soon will have 20,000 allied soldiers, most of them from elite units such as the 82d Airborne. Most of the U.S. troops will work with the Apache ground-attack helicopters that are supposed to go into action this week or next, U.S. officials said, and start knocking out Serbian tanks.

Hungary disclosed that it was making three air bases available to NATO, enabling allied warplanes to be over the important northern outposts of the Serbian air-defense system almost constantly. All the other frontline countries have announced that they are opening their airspace, and in some cases their facilities, to NATO planes.

Voice of a German official called "absolute resolve" to prevail in Kosovo, allied leaders were publicly united in supporting the expanded air war. But privately, officials said there were fears in most European countries that the air campaign alone could not save Kosovar refugees and may take too long for continued public support.

But even countries such as Greece and Italy, with

More Troops Go to Albania

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — As NATO's air campaign directed its fury against more politically sensitive targets in Yugoslavia, the Pentagon announced that it was sending 2,050 more ground troops to Albania, along with tanks and armored vehicles.

Pentagon officials said the additional troops would join 3,300 U.S. soldiers already in Albania or on the way. They were dispatched, they said, to increase protection for the Apache helicopters that are to begin operations soon.

domestic opposition to the campaign, avoided any split in the alliance.

Unanimity was more strained in the "strategic concept" document signed Saturday by the 19 leaders about how the North Atlantic Treaty Organization should evolve and where some political divergences led to watered-down language about new authority that Washington and most allies want for NATO.

After its successful half-century as a defensive force organized to block a Warsaw Pact aggression on its member states, NATO is reorganizing itself as a regional policeman, prepared to use political pressure and military force in crises that threatened Western interests around Europe.

Contested by Russia and viewed with suspicion as a precedent for intervention across borders by China and many neutral countries, the new NATO role raises concerns even among some allies. France, in particular, does not want to see NATO gain political authority that would threaten U.S. influence over the European Union. Diplomatic bargaining continued right through the summit's first days and nights.

NATO's insistence that it can act alone, in the spirit of United Nations institutions, when it has consensus among its 19 members, all democracies, is still a controversial concept.

But a salient passage underlined the unique role of the alliance on security for Europe: "NATO remains the essential forum for consultation among the allies and the forum for agreement on policies bearing on the security and defense commitments of its members," the

The Battle for Kosovo /NATO's Fight for Hearts and Minds

Greece Struggles Between NATO Loyalty and Affinity With Serbs

By Alessandra Stanley
New York Times Service

ATHENS — Anti-American demonstrations, like dinner, start late in Athens. But for some Greek teenagers, too young to remember similar riots of the 1960s and 1970s, protesting against the United States is still novel.

Hours before protesters and riot police clashed in front of the U.S. Embassy on Thursday night, two sisters, Eleon and Constantina Vafadou, sat by a fountain in Constitution Square expecting ready to register their anger over the NATO bombing of Yugoslavia.

"It's ludicrous to say the bombing is to help humanity," Eleon, 18, said over the rally's amplified Serbian music — the soundtrack to "Underground," a popular Serbian film. "It's about the U.S. pursuing its own expansionist strategic interests."

Her 16-year-old sister explained the film's allegorical anti-war message her own way.

"It's like what Ashley told Scarlet," Constantina said, referring to characters in "Gone With the Wind." "After all the war and destruction, nobody remembers what they were fighting about in the first place."

Sympathy for the Serbs and a cultural affinity with the United States are deeply rooted in Greece. But the latter sentiment is being sharply tested. More than any other country in NATO, Greece has been struggling between loyalty to the Western alliance and outrage over the bombing nearby.

While Prime Minister Costas Simitis was attending the NATO anniversary summit meeting in Washington this weekend and has restated Greece's support, back home Greeks of every age and political conviction are voicing fierce opposition to what they view as an unjust war.

Some of the wrath stems from Greek ties to Serbia, a historic ally and key trading partner that shares the Orthodox Christian faith. Much of it is caused by anxiety over what a new war in the region could do to Greece's fragile economy and

uneasy borders. But it is fueled by a revival of anti-American sentiment that, though dormant, has never really died.

Greece, which has been steering toward full integration with Europe, now finds itself pulled back into a tragic Balkan history and into feelings that the United States played a pivotal role in Greek suffering. Greeks blame the United States for supporting the military dictatorship of the late 1960s and early '70s and for failing to prevent the Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974. The bombing has not only created new fears but has also resurrected old grievances.

"America, way on the other side of the world, keeps interfering in something that is not their business and that will not affect them," said Margaret Liavens, 25, a civil servant.

Her views, among them a fear that the conflict could destabilize the region and reignite tension with Turkey, are widely shared. A recent poll published by the largest daily newspaper in Greece, Ta Nea, indicated that more than 95

percent of Greeks oppose the bombing. Some 63.5 percent of those polled expressed a favorable view of President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia. And 94.4 percent said they had a negative view of President Bill Clinton.

Greek newspapers and television have fanned public discontent, stressing the suffering of Serbian civilians over the plight of Albanian refugees from Kosovo. That has alarmed the country's 500,000 Albanian immigrants, who mostly work illegally and are viewed with suspicion by many Greeks.

"I ask myself, why is Greece supporting Serbia; aren't they in NATO?" a 52-year-old unemployed immigrant said.

Some Greek journalists agree that there is an imbalance. "Greek television shows the exact opposite of what Americans see," said Stelios Kouloglou, a well-known television documentary filmmaker. "On CNN you see 80 percent refugees and 20 percent Serbs. On our channels it is the reverse."

Coverage of American news, meanwhile, is newly shaded by the war.

To the newspaper Ethnos, a center-left daily, the killings at a high school in Colorado last week had a direct link to NATO bombings. "The violence that Pentagon hawks are using in their foreign policy has boomeranged on social life in the U.S.," a front-page headline said Thursday. "The evidence is overwhelming: 10,000 assaults in American schools each year."

Greeks have not taken their anger out on their government, which has given NATO access to two air bases and its land routes into Macedonia, and is seeking a cautious balance between loyalty to NATO and support for a cease-fire. Since the crisis broke out, Mr. Simitis' ratings have risen.

"There is a silent majority that feels that Greece has no choice but to be prudent, prudent, prudent," said Thanos Verenis, who runs a foreign policy research institute in Athens. "We are a small, weak country and people feel that poor Simitis has no choice for now."

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AP/The Associated Press
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Yugoslavia
Uncontested at
Low AltitudeBy Eric Schmitt
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — NATO's growing armada of warplanes dominates the skies over Yugoslavia, but only down to a few hundred feet off the ground.

Below that altitude, small but deadly Yugoslav helicopter gunships and ground-attack planes are waging a tree-top air war, taking advantage of the hilly, wooded terrain and NATO's focus on bombing armored forces, to terrorize ethnic Albanians and blast rebel fighters in Kosovo.

NATO officials say that effectively grounding Yugoslavia's low fliers would require diverting scores of planes from a campaign that has already been criticized by some U.S. Air Force generals for not launching larger waves of bombing runs and hitting more targets.

Moreover, NATO jets would have to fly much lower to target the Yugoslav aircraft, putting allied pilots at greater risk from ground fire and surface-to-air missiles.

So while refugees streaming into Albania have reported strafings or bombings by low-flying green planes — the color of most of Yugoslavia's aircraft — NATO commanders say the threat does not justify dramatically altering the tactics of the allied air campaign.

"If they succeed in taking off, their mission has to be short, has to be of limited size and with limited scope," Brigadier General Giuseppe Miani of Italy, a NATO spokesman, said in dismissing the significance of the Yugoslav Air Force.

While NATO is not ignoring this air threat, its main goal is to attack armored forces and special police in the field, as well as the supply lines and command bunkers north of Kosovo that support them.

NATO has also put a high priority on destroying Yugoslavia's most advanced aircraft, MiG-29 and MiG-21 fighters, which pose a more direct threat to allied warplanes.

Four other types of Yugoslav aircraft can take off and land quickly on remote landing strips, and cruise low enough to duck under the gaze of AWACS radar planes; the Galeb and Super Galeb attack planes and the Gazelle and Hind attack helicopters. These aircraft can also operate effectively under the same clouds and bad weather that have thwarted scores of NATO warplanes flying above 15,000 feet (4,500 meters).

The Super Gales, in particular, have



CARRIED TO SAFETY — An ethnic Albanian conveying a refugee on a bus Sunday in Blace, Macedonia, on the border with Yugoslavia.

effectively attacked mountain strongholds of the Kosovo Liberation Army. The light attack planes are equipped with 23mm guns and anti-personnel cluster bombs.

Last week, NATO reported an increase in attacks by Yugoslav planes and helicopters.

Allied jets were not close enough to strike the Yugoslav aircraft, NATO commanders said. But U.S. military intelligence said that the low-flying aircraft had curtailed their missions as the week went on.

The Pentagon estimates that allied jets have destroyed nearly three dozen of Belgrade's low-end fighter-bombers. "We have reduced by probably around 50 percent its airborne ability to conduct ground-attack operations," said Rear Admiral Thomas Wilson, director of intelligence for the Joint Chiefs of Staff, referring to President Slobodan Milosevic.

Many of these ground-attack planes were based at airfields in Nis, in Serbia, and in Podgorica, in Montenegro, General Wilson said.

Because all of Yugoslavia is a combat area, allied jets are, in effect, enforcing a no-fly zone over the entire country. But

the scope of this air campaign is much broader than what American-led patrols are enforcing over northern and southern Iraq.

The allies created no-fly zones in those two areas after the 1991 Gulf War to prevent President Saddam Hussein from attacking Kurds in the north and Shiites in the south.

In Yugoslavia, allied pilots are attacking scores of targets every day, from fuel depots and ammunition dumps to the armored ground forces that are expelling thousands of Kosovar Albanians from their homeland.

If NATO and Yugoslavia ever negotiate a settlement over Kosovo, the allies are not likely to repeat a concession that General Norman Schwarzkopf made at the armistice meeting to end the Gulf War.

At that meeting, General Schwarzkopf agreed to a request by Iraq that it be allowed to fly armed helicopters anywhere inside Iraq as long as they were not near U.S. forces.

Iraq used that air power, which it claimed was necessary for self-defense, combined with heavy ground armor that survived the war, to kill thousands of rebellious Kurds and Shiites.

"You can observe that Slovakia is not

travelling freely to Kosovo.

Zoran Andjelkovic, the Serbian top local official, has gone to speak to the refugees to urge them to return home, promising them safety, the diplomat said.

In general, the Serbs are presenting the situation in Kosovo as peaceful and claiming that their offensive is now over. They say they are busy trying to negotiate a settlement for political autonomy for Kosovo and safety for returning refugees.

In recent days, Serbian state television has shown columns of ethnic Albanians inside Kosovo said to be returning home. Nearly every televised interview is with a young Albanian man of military age, as if to undermine Western allegations of mass killings and up to 40 mass graves.

"The atmosphere is entirely sinister and eerie," the diplomat said. "Serb authorities try to present the situation as relatively normal, but one

Applicants Back Alliance on Kosovo

By William Claiborne
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — If any of the European nations waiting for admission to NATO had misgivings about joining an alliance whose future could hinge on the outcome of the gradually escalating war in Yugoslavia, the misgivings were not apparent when their leaders came to Washington to participate on the fringes of the 19-member NATO summit meeting.

With degrees of enthusiasm ranging from strident and downright hawkish to measured and circumspect, leaders of prospective NATO nations said they support not only the bombing campaign in the Kosovo conflict but also the introduction of NATO ground troops, if it comes to that.

Some offered refinements — such as a need for United Nations approval for any deployment of ground troops — but the overwhelming point of view in interviews with the heads of government of candidate nations was that the future of European stability depended on the alliance's ability to deal swiftly and conclusively with President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia and his efforts to "cleanse" Kosovo of ethnic Albanians.

The leaders of the would-be NATO nations came to the summit meeting armed with glossy promotional brochures touting their countries' qualifications for NATO membership and with English-speaking aides to brief reporters on the depth of their commitment to NATO's military success in Yugoslavia.

The outcome of the Kosovo crisis has assumed an added dimension because of the widely held view that if NATO fails to meet its objectives in Yugoslavia, the impetus to expand the alliance would probably collapse. NATO would move to the margins of European defense strategy, and some of the candidate nations would lose interest in joining.

Even Slovakia, which was excluded in 1997 from the first expansion group of NATO applicants because of a lack of commitment to democracy over authoritarian prime minister Vladimir Mečiar, has embraced NATO's principles and its new prime minister, Mikuláš Dzurinda.

"If ground troops will be necessary, we will always stay on the side of NATO," Mr. Dzurinda, who defeated Mr. Mečiar in September, said Saturday.

"Milosevic cannot win. It would be a very dangerous precedent."

Stressing that "Slovakia after the election is a new country," Mr. Dzurinda noted that his government had opened Slovak airspace to NATO warplanes and had agreed to give the Western alliance ground access along a rail and highway corridor as well.

"You can observe that Slovakia is not

yet a NATO member, but our actions make us a de facto member," Mr. Dzurinda said. "We believe as if we already were a member."

But Slovakia continues to be viewed as at the bottom of the eligibility list for alliance expansion, he acknowledged.

Lithuania, which along with Slovenia is most often cited as being at the top of the list for the next expansion round, also pledged its backing of NATO in the war effort. President Valdas Adamkus said Lithuania is on an "irreversible course" to join the alliance no matter what happens in Kosovo. He said his country supported not only the use of alliance ground forces, if necessary, but also a naval blockade to shut off Mr. Milosevic's oil supplies and whatever other measures are required.

"NATO has to use every avenue to stop the resistance of Yugoslavia's forces," Mr. Adamkus said. "Whatever means it takes should be used, with no restrictions, to save human lives."

Mr. Adamkus settled in the United States after Soviet troops retook Lithuania from Nazi Germany in 1944 and returned home in 1997 to make a presidential bid.

Prime Minister Janez Drnovsek of Slovenia said: "This kind of role with military intervention is to protect human rights, military rights and prevent human catastrophes. This should, of course, prevent other dictators."

Jesse Jackson to Intervene

By Alan Friedman
International Herald Tribune

ROME — The Reverend Jesse Jackson, the U.S. civil rights activist and former presidential candidate, said Sunday that he will fly to the Balkans on Monday in a bid to meet President Slobodan Milosevic of Yugoslavia and seek the release of three U.S. soldiers held by the Serbs.

"We all have a great sense of agony about the violence in the Kosovo, and we want to break the cycle of violence," Mr. Jackson said. "So a group of Serbian-American ministers, Muslim imams and rabbis will go to Kosovo to meet with religious leaders and with President Milosevic himself in order to make an appeal to see the Americans being held captive there released."

Mr. Jackson declined to say where and when he would meet with Mr. Milosevic. "We cannot share that information," he said, citing security reasons.

But he disclosed that he had discussed the Kosovo trip with President Bill Clinton. "He knows about it," Mr. Jackson said, "but this is not a political trip, not a White House-sponsored trip. It is a humanitarian mission."

The release of the three U.S. captives, he added, "could be a circuit breaker, and it could open a small window of dialogue, because we must choose co-existence over co-annihilation, we must

try to be peacemakers to break the cycle of violence."

When asked if he believed his mission had any chance of succeeding, Mr. Jackson cited past successes and said that negotiations with Mr. Milosevic were inevitable.

"Ultimately, he must be talked with," Mr. Jackson said. "When I went to Syria to see Assad in 1983 to negotiate the release of navy Lieutenant Robert Goodman, many thought we couldn't talk with him, but we did and it worked."

I also talked with Fidel Castro in Cuba and gained the release of 14 Americans who were held captive there, and I went and met with Saddam Hussein in Iraq before the Gulf War started and gained the release of 500 women who were being used as human shields. I believe you must talk with people."

Mr. Jackson, whose unconventional approach is being made amid signs that Mr. Milosevic is feeling the pressure of NATO's month-old bombing campaign, insisted that if he could win the release of U.S. prisoners this could be a precursor to a negotiated end to the war.

"We must use all our energies to get all parties back to the negotiating table," he said in an interview with International Herald Tribune to be broadcast Monday on the RAI News 24 satellite channel in Italy. "I believe religious leaders in a dialogue can be factors in a solution."

Serbs Set Ceiling for Kosovo Albanian Population

By Steven Erlanger
New York Times Service

BELGRADE — Serbian authorities in Kosovo say they are trying to remake the demographic balance of the province and sharply reduce Albanian power there, according to a senior European diplomat who was recently in the province.

Officials in Kosovo, where all governmental power has been wielded by Serbs since President Slobodan Milosevic stripped the province of broad autonomy in 1989, say they hope to have about 600,000 ethnic Albanians living there when the war is over, the diplomat said. That would be two-thirds the estimated number in Kosovo before the expulsions began.

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EUROPE

In Europe, Critics of Genetically Altered Crops Sow Seeds of Doubt and FearBy Rick Weiss
Washington Post Service

BOGHALL FARM, Scotland — They gathered at the edge of a field here late one night, about 20 people wearing dark clothes and gardening gloves. The gently rolling, half-acre test plot that stretched before them was lush with thousands of experimental canola plants, genetically altered by a German biotechnology company.

When lookouts in three cars all gave the go-ahead via mobile phones, the shadowy figures illuminated battery-powered miner's lamps atop their heads, crept from behind the hawthorn hedgerows and began ripping every gene-altered plant from the earth. Hours later, exhausted and surrounded by uprooted vegetation, the dirt-covered protesters sped back to nearby Edinburgh.

"We were nervous for the next week," one participant said recently, speaking to a visitor at the now barren site on the condition of anonymity. If the group members are caught and convicted, they could spend a decade or longer in prison.

The Boghall raid was one of many "decontaminations" of gene-altered farm sites by protesters during the past year, many of them resulting in arrests. In England, Scotland and Ireland, at least three trials for such raids have come up in the past month alone.

The actions are part of a wave of protest circling the globe as the first fields of genetically modified crops take root outside the United States. Gene-altered crops have been grown and consumed in America since 1996 with hardly a murmur of debate, and the more negative reaction in the British Isles and elsewhere

is highlighting differences in the way Americans and others perceive science and the environment.

The protests are also drawing attention to lingering scientific uncertainties about the risks of agricultural biotechnology.

The controversy is over crops that have been endowed with genes from bacteria and other organisms, mostly to make them resistant to insects and chemical weed killers. In Britain and other European countries, where such crops are still restricted to small experimental plots, polls indicate that two-thirds of consumers believe the plants pose a threat to the environment or to human health.

Recent public protests and a flurry of newspaper articles with headlines about "Frankenfoods" and "Mutant Crops" have put European government and industry officials on the defensive.

Last month, more than two dozen influential consumer organizations in Britain called for a five-year moratorium on commercial plantings of gene-altered crops there. Top chefs have called for segregation and labeling of engineered ingredients so they can keep the stuff out of their gourmet dishes.

The protests appear to be working. Last month, several major fast-food outlets and supermarket chains in England — including Burger King, McDonald's Corp. and J. Sainsbury PLC (the large grocery chain owned by the family of the British science minister, Lord Sainsbury) — promised to eliminate genetically modified foods and ingredients from their product lines.

Those moves are alarming farmers and distributors in the United States, the leading producer of gene-altered foods, where regulatory agencies have deemed

gene-modified crops "substantially equivalent" to traditional crops and where consumers — knowingly or not — consume large quantities of engineered food every day.

Last year, nearly 40 percent of the U.S. soybean crop was genetically engineered. And while many Americans may think they do not eat much soy, it is present in an estimated 60 percent of all processed foods, including breads, baby food, salad dressings and ice cream. Similarly, 45 percent of U.S. cotton — including that grown for cottonseed oil — was genetically modified last year, as was 25 percent of the nation's corn.

In the industry's view, these crops are at least as safe as traditionally bred crops.

"We're talking about tens of thousands of field trials and millions of people who have ingested these foods

BRIEFLY

Don't Halt Talks, Sinn Fein Advises

LONDON — Sinn Fein said Sunday that a peace agreement for Northern Ireland would be shattered if the process were to be "parked" over the summer.

"Our view is, if you park the peace process, there will be no Good Friday agreement to come back to," Mitchel McLaughlin, chairman of the IRA's political wing, said on BBC television.

Ireland's deputy foreign minister, Liz O'Donnell, speaking on the same program, agreed that the process could not be halted. (Reuters)

Spanish Rightists Fight With Basques

BILBAO, Spain — Riot police broke up a rally of several dozen Spanish far-rightists and a counter-demonstration by Basque separatists Sunday after violent clashes, the police said. It was not clear whether anyone had been hurt or arrested.

Scuffles broke out when a telephone booth was set on fire as dozens of supporters of the far-rightist Alliance for National Unity, headed by Ricardo Saenz de Yturralde, held a meeting in this Basque city.

The counterdemonstration was organized by Herri Batasuna, the political arm of the banned separatist organization ETA, and other Basque separatist groups. (AFP)

For the Record

President Jacques Chirac of France has registered his highest approval rating since the 1995 election, with 63 percent of the French people pleased with his performance, according to a poll published in the weekly *Journal du Dimanche*. (Reuters)

Prince Charles of Britain spoke out against inner-city decay in an article Sunday in the weekly *Observer*, he argued that old warehouses, mills and workshops should not be demolished but converted to modern uses. (AFP)

safely," said Carl Feldbaum, president of the Biotechnology Industry Organization in Washington. "And before people ingest the foods, we're talking about agencies highly respected by American citizens — the FDA, the EPA, the Department of Agriculture — all signing off on the safety of these plants."

According to Mr. Feldbaum and other advocates, gene-modified crops are desperately needed if the world's growing population is to be fed in coming decades. Some experts have even suggested that engineered crops are the only way to achieve the environmental Holy Grail of "sustainable agriculture," because in theory, at least, they can reduce the need for chemical insecticides, herbicides and erosion-promoting tillage.

Moreover, scientists promise they will soon be adding genes that are not only useful to the farmer but also valuable to the consumer, such as genes that make foods tastier or more nutritious.

But even the best arguments by scientists and government agencies have not convinced Europeans.

Philip Angell, director of corporate communications for Monsanto Co., the giant St. Louis, Missouri-based company that is the major U.S. producer of gene-altered seeds, is one of many observers who say Europe's rejection of biotechnology is the result of a lack of public trust in food safety agencies there. In particular, he blames the still-smoldering "mad cow" disease fiasco, in which British government officials insisted for years that there were no human health risks from the bovine disease — only to have that assurance disproved.

"That wound still has not healed," Mr. Angell said.

A series of public relations missteps by Monsanto probably added to the problem, company officials concede. According to a preliminary ruling by Britain's official Advertising Standards Authority last month, a \$1.6 million Monsanto advertising campaign sought to deceive the public by expressing opinions as accepted fact and making scientific claims that were "wrong" and "misleading."

Another factor, said David Atkinson, vice principal for research at the Scottish Agricultural College in Edinburgh, is that Europeans are more attuned to the latest developments in the countryside than Americans are.

"Look," he said, pointing out the window of his second-story campus office. "Edinburgh is the fifth- or sixth-largest city in the United Kingdom, and we can look out the window and see countryside and see farming."

International politics, too, cannot be wholly discounted. Some U.S. lawmakers and corporate officials suspect that Europe's reluctance to embrace agricultural biotechnology is nothing more than thinly veiled protectionism, serving as a shield for punishment by the World Trade Organization.

Many opponents of agricultural biotechnology say that all these explanations do contribute to their feelings. But most important, they argue, is that there is simply not enough known about the safety of these crops.

They cite studies indicating that plants engineered to make their own insecticides can accelerate the evolution of resistant insects and may ultimately render the few remaining organic insecticides ineffective.

Many ecologists are also concerned that the spread of new genes to weeds via windblown pollen could lead to the inadvertent creation of "superweeds" that do not die when sprayed with weed killers.

BRIEFLY

U.S. Planes Bomb Northern Iraqi Sites

ANKARA — U.S. fighter jets based in southern Turkey bombed Iraqi air defenses in the northern no-fly zone Sunday after being tracked by Iraqi radar, a statement from Incirlik Air Base said.

"Operation Northern Watch detected Iraqi radar posing a threat to coalition aircraft," the statement said.

It said F-16s had responded in self-defense, launching bombs and missiles at anti-aircraft sites near the Iraqi city of Mosul.

All the aircraft left the no-fly zone safely, it added. (Reuters)

Bolivia Doesn't See New Ties With Chile

LA PAZ — Citing Chilean military exercises on the border, President Hugo Banzer of Bolivia said he doubted diplomatic relations with Chile would be restored this year.

"I don't think that conditions are there" to re-establish diplomatic relations, the president said Saturday in Cochabamba, about 200 kilometers (125 miles) southeast of La Paz.

Chile and Bolivia share a 980-kilometer border where the Chilean army has recently been conducting missile tests, according to Bolivia's Defense Ministry. Diplomatic relations between the two have been suspended since 1978. (AFP)

For the Record

Clashes erupted between Iraqi protesters and security forces in a suburb of Baghdad recently, leaving dozens of people dead, the newspaper *Al Hayat* reported Sunday. (AFP)



In a Bangladeshi area of London, a small car testifies to the power of a bomb that exploded Saturday.

Ski-Lift Crash Compensation DelayedBy Matthew L. Wald
New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The relatives of the Germans killed when a U.S. jet struck a ski-lift cable in Italy were close to receiving compensation from the United States, until the issue of the crew killed in a U.S. Air Force C-141 Starlifter five months earlier delayed the action.

Twenty people on the cable car, including seven Germans, were killed when a low-flying Marine Corps jet hit the ski gondola's cable on Feb. 3, 1998. Last month the Senate voted in favor of an immediate payment of \$40 million, or \$2 million per victim.

Five months before the ski-lift accident on Sept. 13, 1997, a U.S. Air Force Starlifter and a German Air Force plane collided 35,000 feet over the South Atlantic, off Namibia. On March 31, 1998, the German government said in a report that the German crew was at fault, because it was flying the Tupolev 154 eastward at an altitude reserved for westbound traffic.

The two accidents are linked now because in late March, Senator Charles Robb, Democrat of Virginia, attached an amendment to a catch-all spending bill to provide \$2 million for each victim of the accident in Italy.

Two days later Senator Strom Thurmond, Republican of South Carolina, approached Mr. Robb with new language that would bar payment to the German families, but not the families from Belgium, Poland or Italy, until the German government settled the claims of the American families.

That suggestion is now part of the package that House and Senate negotiators are considering as they iron out their other differences.

Rita Wunderlich of Hartmannsdorf, Germany, whose husband was on the cable car, said, "We have been fighting for compensation for a year now, and now people are trying to use us to get paid."

Mr. Thurmond wrote to the German ambassador, Juergen Chrobog, who responded without saying that the families of the victims of the crash off the coast of Namibia deserve our deepest sympathy and support."

But Mr. Chrobog added: "I do not think it is helpful to link compensation issues. Nor is it customary in light of the close cooperation of our two countries within the NATO alliance."

Besides, he pointed out, the victims of the accident in Italy were civilians.

But for Monica Cindrich, widow of the Starlifter's pilot, Captain Gregory Cindrich, that added insult to injury.

Ms. Cindrich contends that there should be no distinction: "Take the word 'civilian' out, take the word 'military' out, and you know what? You still have 'victim.'"

CHINA: 10,000 Cultists Mass in Beijing in the Largest, and Strangest, Protest in a Decade

Continued from Page 1

rest in the run-up to the 10th anniversary of the bloody crackdown on Tiananmen Square on June 4. Demonstrations have become commonplace in cities and villages throughout China, a restive population — concerned about corruption and unemployment — appears increasingly willing to take to the streets to press their demands.

The protesters dispersed late Sunday night after organizers assured them that the cabinet would negotiate with them Monday.

The government had no comment on the protests, which went unreported by the official media, or on the protesters' claim that Prime Minister Zhu Rongji had been personally involved.

"This was an apolitical protest, but it is also a very political act," said a senior Chinese academic who has written extensively about China's growing number of cults.

"By moving 12,000 people into the center of Beijing, this group was making a very strong statement," he said. "By picking this time to move these people, so near to June 4, the statement had that much more power."

The Falun protest also illustrates a completely new set of challenges facing the Communist Party, which traditionally has been bedeviled by Western-oriented pro-democracy groups.

Cults and religions, combining traditional Chinese beliefs with a dose of hucksterism, have proliferated in China among a restless people seeking a spiritual anchor amid economic and social upheaval.

Furthermore, the protest in Beijing was not an isolated incident but rather a continuation of demonstrations that began last week in the coastal metropolis of Tianjin, 145 kilometers (90 miles) east of China's capital.

There, thousands of Falun followers protested in front of the offices of the Youth Science and Technology Reader and the city government, demanding that the monthly editor apologize for the article. The magazine refused the demand.

When the protesters attempted to surround Tianjin's city hall, police dispersed them, employing what one source called "tough tactics." No one was seriously injured, he added, but dozens of

people were arrested and the group decided to take its protest to Beijing.

Protesters said Sunday that they received calls Saturday from local cell leaders and some arrived in the center of the city as early as 4:30 A.M. Others came from as far away as Zhejiang Province, 1,300 kilometers south of Beijing.

Falun Gong, the name of the revolving wheel, says it is "an advanced system of cultivation and practice" — incorporating elements from the Chinese martial art, tai chi chuan, Buddhism and Taoism. It is kind of a New Age movement with Chinese characteristics.

By cultivating an "orb" of energy around the belly, the theory goes, disease can be cured and spiritual rapture achieved. One can also learn how to send one's soul flying outside the body.

Mr. Li first began preaching Falun Gong in China in 1992. His sect quickly became popular.

Mr. Li moved to the United States, and he gave his first seminar in Houston on Oct. 12, 1996. Since then he has generally picked celestially significant days for his teachings — often to crowds of thousands. Mr. Li's writings have been translated into seven languages, and Falun organizations are active around the world and in 18 U.S. states and Washington. More than 80 Web sites are devoted to the practice of Falun.

She Qingsheng, 26, a doctor from Beijing who was at the protest Sunday, said Falun is a good way to address the problems in Chinese society and the world, from drugs to the war in Yugoslavia. He said that China's ultra-radical Cultural Revolution destroyed traditional Chinese values, creating a moral vacuum in this country.

People need something to believe in, he said, "like Christianity in your country" although he stressed that he did not believe Falun was a religion. "Why did so many people come today?" he asked. "It's a problem of the social system, and a problem of recognition."

Falun Gong cultists gathered at Communist Party headquarters in Beijing on Sunday to present their demands.

Andrew Wong/Reuters

Continued from Page 1

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INTERNATIONAL

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Russia Out of Step

Just about every European nation had its representative at Washington's mega-summit this past weekend. NATO and non-NATO members alike. Conspicuously absent, though, were the Russians. That was unfortunate for NATO and the Clinton administration, which have worked hard, and rightly so, to make a place for Russia in the new Europe. It was even more unfortunate for Russia itself, which now finds itself more isolated than ever, and more exposed in its weakness.

The proximate cause for Russia's boycott is NATO's war in Kosovo. The bombing campaign has aroused strong emotions in Russia, all negative. Some Russians say it proves right the fears they harbored from the start that NATO is an aggressive, not a defensive, alliance. There is sympathy for the Serbs, who share a version of Russia's Orthodox religion. Among policymakers, who waged their own brutal war against ethnic separatists in Chechnya, the anxiety is that the Kosovo example could be used to fracture Russia. And there is resentment that NATO launched this campaign without authorization from the UN Security Council — that is to say, without the approval of Russia and China.

Opposition to NATO's action is not, in and of itself, dishonorable. Plenty of Americans and Europeans share the view that an air campaign was not the optimal way for NATO to achieve its goals. But Russia in two ways has diminished its stature and its standing to make this argument.

First, it has failed to put forward any true alternative. Throughout the past year, Russia claimed to share the goals of autonomy for Kosovo, an end to ethnic violence and a withdrawal of most Serbian troops. But when

Slobodan Milosevic violated his own commitments to those goals, commitments that the Security Council had enshrined, Russia offered no suggestions on how to enforce agreements that it had backed or to protect the civilians.

More serious has been Russia's refusal to condemn or even acknowledge the massive crimes against humanity for which Mr. Milosevic is responsible. It is fine to argue against NATO bombing, if that is your view, and to call attention to the civilian casualties that such bombing is bound to produce. It is not fine to pretend, as Prime Minister Yevgeni Primakov did early on, that the mass exodus from Kosovo is caused entirely by NATO's bombing. It is not fine to claim, as Foreign Minister Igor Ivanov did, that the forced expulsions are purely a matter of Western propaganda. It will not be forgotten that so many Russian politicians could not bring themselves to condemn the mass rapes and murders.

Now President Boris Yeltsin has appointed as Kosovo negotiator his former prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin. This may be as much a slap at his current prime minister, Mr. Primakov, as a genuine attempt to make peace, but NATO is right to encourage Mr. Chernomyrdin's efforts. Russia's government also has sidestepped calls from the Communist and nationalist opposition to take extreme measures, such as sending arms to Yugoslavia.

If Russia can be brought back into the process without compromise to NATO's principles, so much the better. But its involvement can be meaningful only to the extent that it acknowledges the reality and consequences of Mr. Milosevic's crimes.

—THE WASHINGTON POST.

Against School Violence

There is of course no certain antidote to the kind of violence that claimed 15 lives at Columbine High School in Colorado last week, no simple way to predict its occurrence, no magic cure for the pathologies that make it possible. President Bill Clinton himself confessed to a feeling of mystification when he visited a Virginia high school last Thursday to share his grief.

He promised to search for answers, as we Americans all must. The Columbine massacre followed a half-dozen incidents of deadly school violence since late 1997, and while it would distort reality to say that the country is in the grip of an epidemic, people are clearly on edge, especially since violence has a way of copying violence.

The fact that there is no perfect solution cannot be used as a cover for doing nothing. The country is far from powerless. There are useful steps that can be taken by governments, school officials, teachers, parents and even the students themselves. Here are a few.

School security. Americans rightly resist regimentation, but schools must be weapon-free zones, and if that requires extra security, so be it. In the 1996-97 school year, more than 6,000 students were expelled for bringing guns to school. About 5 percent of the nation's schools use walk-through metal detectors, and 10 percent use hand-held devices. Federal and state officials should look hard at the experience at these schools. If the considerable investment in equipment and the personnel to run it seems to pay off, a dramatic expansion in the use of metal detectors, beyond the relatively modest growth envisioned by the Clinton administration, would be in order.

In addition, Mr. Clinton said on Friday that a federal program begun last year would underwrite 2,000 new police officers in schools that ask for them. Congress should weigh an expansion of that program.

Early intervention. What little is known of the twisted motives of the two troubled, suicidal killers raises profound cultural and psychological questions, the answers to which lie not in Washington or the state legislatures but in the schools and among parents, students and community leaders.

Last June, after a similar shooting at a high school in Springfield, Oregon, Mr. Clinton directed the departments of education and justice to develop an "early warning guide" to help adults reach out to troubled children quickly and effectively. The guide, written in intimidating bureaucratic and probably gathering dust on many school

Guns control. There are more than 200 million weapons floating around the country, and a few commonsense gun control measures that would make it a lot harder for confused Hitler worshippers in black trench coats to amass a huge amount of lethal firepower. Mr. Clinton had already announced his intention to resubmit legislation aimed at getting guns out of the hands of young people. It would hold adults criminally liable when juveniles obtain weapons of theirs and use them in crimes.

The Columbine shooting may finally persuade House Speaker Dennis Hastert and the Senate majority leader, Trent Lott, to allow a prompt recorded vote on these and other long-buried gun control measures.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES.

Other Comment

Too Many Guns Around

In 1996, the last year for which comparative statistics are available, there were 15 handgun-caused deaths in Japan, 30 in Britain, 106 in the United States — and 9,390 in the United States.

In 1996, 4,643 children and teenagers were killed in America with guns; 2,866 murdered, 1,309 by suicide, 468 in unintentional shootings.

"We should teach kids how to resolve conflicts," says Stephen Teret, a professor at Johns Hopkins University and director of its Center for Gun Policy and Research. But there are 52 million schoolchildren in America, and a conflict resolution program that is 99.9 percent successful will leave 52,000 kids ready to commit mayhem. "For them, you want to make sure there's not an operable gun within reach."

—Fred Hiatt, commenting in The Washington Post.

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Let's Take Asian Fear of Globalization Seriously

By Dru C. Gladney and Christopher B. Johnstone

HONOLULU — As the effects of the economic crisis continue to ripple through Asia, a central issue has moved to the forefront of debate: the impact of globalization on Asian societies.

While countries once termed "miracles" struggle to recover from a crisis that in some cases destroyed years of progress in just weeks, mainstream Asian thinkers from India to Japan are pointing to globalization — meaning open borders for flows of finance, business, trade, ideas and cultural values — as a threat to national well-being.

The outcome of this debate will have implications for Asian and Western governments alike.

Before the crisis, many Asian governments enthusiastically welcomed the forces of globalization. Indeed, globalization helped to give legitimacy to a number of regimes, as market liberalization and broader integration into the global economy spurred rapid growth across Asia.

Rising living standards made people willing to tolerate governments that were often authoritarian, a phenomenon sometimes described as "performance-based" legitimacy. In South

Korea, Indonesia and China, growing prosperity and political repression went hand in hand.

In essence, Asia saw itself as a "winner" in the new global contest. Behind the Asian embrace of globalization was the assumption that economics could be separated from politics.

The economic crisis has thrown such assumptions into doubt. Asia is now deeply aware of the costs of being a globalization "loser." With millions of people thrown out of work, governments are forced to provide more resources to compensate the victims of global economic and financial forces.

Perhaps more ominous for some Asian governments is that the strategy of separating economics from politics may no longer be viable. Events in Indonesia, Thailand and South Korea make clear that embracing globalization entails political, social and even cultural costs. Transparency, accountability and the rule of law are required by the global economy. These features of globalization are far less welcome in many parts of Asia.

Confronted with such pressures, some Asian leaders have turned to denouncing globalization as a new form of Western imperialism. Prime Minister Mahathir bin Mohamad of Malaysia has accused the West of using financial markets to bring Asia to its knees. Similar sentiment has been voiced by some officials and intellectuals in China, Indonesia, India and Japan.

For now, no Asian countries appear likely to reverse course and reject globalization. Few Asians perceive the North Korean and Burmese models as viable alternatives to the global economy. Some governments, including those of South Korea, Thailand, Singapore and the Philippines, have even welcomed the opportunity for reform.

But a lasting backlash could develop against the West, especially if the current signs of recovery in East Asia fail to live up to their promise. Such a backlash could have serious implications for American influence in the region, and harm Asian interests as well.

The West must abandon triumphalist rhetoric, and recognize that Asian

concern over eroding values and social cohesion is legitimate. The possibility of internal fragmentation is real in the multiethnic states that characterize much of Asia.

Asia, in turn, should recognize that Western countries have also been buffeted by globalization, and that managing its challenges will be a central item on the policy agendas of Washington, London, Paris and Bonn long into the 21st century.

The challenge for the West and Asia is to agree that although the window to globalization should be kept open, a screen should be kept firmly in place. With goodwill on both sides, this should be possible.

No nation is immune to the effects of globalization, but all have sought to reap its benefits, even as they work to protect national resources, values and identities considered vital.

Mr. Gladney is a dean at the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, and Mr. Johnstone is a research fellow at the center. They contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

The Kosovo Test for Successors to the NATO Founders

By David Ignatius

WASHINGTON — At foreign policy gatherings, they were known as the "successor generation" — the bright young men and women who would someday succeed to leadership of the Western alliance.

They were encouraged to think of themselves as heirs to such people as Dean Acheson and George Marshall, the founding generation that had fought World War II and created the great postwar institutions.

It was like waiting to come into an inheritance, the big, fat trust fund known as NATO. That looked to be easy work, living off the interest without having to put much back in — at least until a few months ago.

This past weekend's 50th anniversary celebration marked a rite of passage. "The Greatest Generation," as Tom Brokaw calls the founders, finally handed off the baton to the sons and daughters who came of age in the turbulent, make-better world of the late 1960s and early '70s.

To an unusual degree, President Bill Clinton and his advisers are products of a deliberate effort to shape this successor generation. They are a team of "meritocrats," people who were credentialed and validated for leadership by America's top universities, foundations and think tanks.

In 1994, a year after Mr. Clinton took office, I counted at least 15 Rhodes scholars in the administration, six of them on the White House staff. They had gone off to Oxford to acquire the tools of managing an empire — at least that had been the intention of the founder, Cecil Rhodes, although that mattered less to the recipients than the fact that they were collecting the best merit badge of all.

This finding was strongly assailed by friends of the Army Air Force, as it then was, but in 1994 I counted eight members of the cabinet, including the president, who were members of this inner circle of the Es-

tablishment. This year, despite many changes in the cabinet, the council's quota is still eight.

The Clinton meritocrats had been schooled for leadership but not tested. There was a suspicion in the land that they might not be up to the job. Their resumes were long on credentials but short on experience.

Whatever youthful flings the Clintonites might have had with anti-war politics or cultural rebellion, most of them had quickly retreated to the safety of big institutions and powerful patrons. The most successful member of the Clinton cabinet was the one who had been schooled in risk, working on the arbitration desk at Goldman Sachs — Treasury Secretary Robert Rubin.

The foreign policy team was weaker. Now the test has come. You can tell from the bags

under his eyes that Mr. Clinton is finally learning what the burden of leadership is about. He understands that in Kosovo he is writing the decisive chapter of his presidency, and also one for his generation. So far, he does not make for happy reading.

The president and his team initially proved as unready as their doubters feared. In a hideous irony of history, they found themselves re-reading the path of gradual escalation that was part of the disaster of Vietnam. With the best of intentions but ruinously poor planning and strategy, they embarked on a war without fully understanding its potential costs and consequences.

Perhaps we Americans really do understand now how we got into Vietnam. We see a president edging hesitantly into a conflict that seems morally justified but

remote from the nation's interests; we see generals and intelligence advisers offering conflicting advice — saluting to the president's face but grinning behind his back; we see columnists denouncing any presidential hesitation about shedding blood as moral cowardice. And we see the inescapable logic of what many ordinary people took to be the lesson of Vietnam if you're in it, win it.

But maybe this is a good time to take Vietnam off the table (like the Holocaust, it is a unique event, not a metaphor) and recall the personalities of 50 years ago. What distinguished the founder generation was planning for the peace even as you were fighting a war. They began that planning process in 1943, and we are still living off the institutions they created.

How do we foster economic and political stability in the

Balkans, rather than the mess we have now? How do we draw the Russians into helping us manage a stable, democratic Balkans, making them partners in peace rather than zealots for postwar Serbian revanchism? How do we help Serbs create a modern nation worthy of their patriotism? To ask questions like these is not to undermine the war effort but to give it more depth and staying power.

Resolve and clarity. Those were the gifts that made the NATO founding generation so admirable. You cannot learn those qualities at great universities. You learn them through the bitter, heartbreaking experiences of real life.

It doesn't get any more real than the war in Kosovo, and in the next few weeks and months the successor generation will have a chance to earn its inheritance.

The Washington Post.

Patient Firmness Is a Better Policy Than Bombing

By John Kenneth Galbraith

CAMBRIDGE, Massachusetts — Fifty-four years ago this month, I became the director for overall effects of the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey. After some months of work with a talented staff, the interrogation of Albert Speer and other German officials and the examination of excellent German records, we concluded that the great strategic air attacks had not appreciably reduced German war production.

Not had they effectively shortened the war. That was won by ground troops with tactical air support up from Normandy and across the vast plains of Russia.

This finding was strongly assailed by friends of the Army Air Force, as it then was, but in 1945 we were mostly accepted.

It was also learned, not surprisingly, that the ordinary citizens of the German cities — Cologne, Hamburg, Berlin, and just as the war was ending,

Dresden — were far more in fear of the American and British bombers than of their own highly adverse government.

In Japan, a similar study found the country's industrial plants to be more vulnerable, but it was civilians — men, women and children — who suffered, including at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The war was won by ground troops fighting island by island up from Guadalcanal, and by sea power, including, of course, carriers and combat aircraft.

A few years later in Korea the situation was the same. That war was brought to an end by troops on the ground. Airpower did not save General Douglas MacArthur's forces on their venture to the Yalu River. Twice the weight of bombs dropped on Germany did not affect the outcome of the war in Vietnam. It took ground troops to recover Kuwait.

The commitment to airpower has two sources. There is, first, the hope, real but rarely articulated, that we can have war without casualties — a clean, hygienic operation, away from the arms, shells, physical miseries, wounds and death of ground warfare. And which avoids the domestic political effect from the body bags being unloaded.

More important, technical achievement, public expenditure and industrial influence all urge the use of airpower. All

let us open the United States yet further to refugees. That has been our greatest past service to the deprived and despairing of the world, and all to our ultimate benefit.

Time is the greatest of all curatives. If the NATO allies stop the bombing and are open to negotiation, eventually reason will rule. There will be negotiations, some kind of settlement. War, on the contrary, does not heal, and its effect on participants and those unhappy present is all too evident.

The writer, a professor emeritus of economics at Harvard and author most recently of "The Good Society," contributed this comment to The New York Times.

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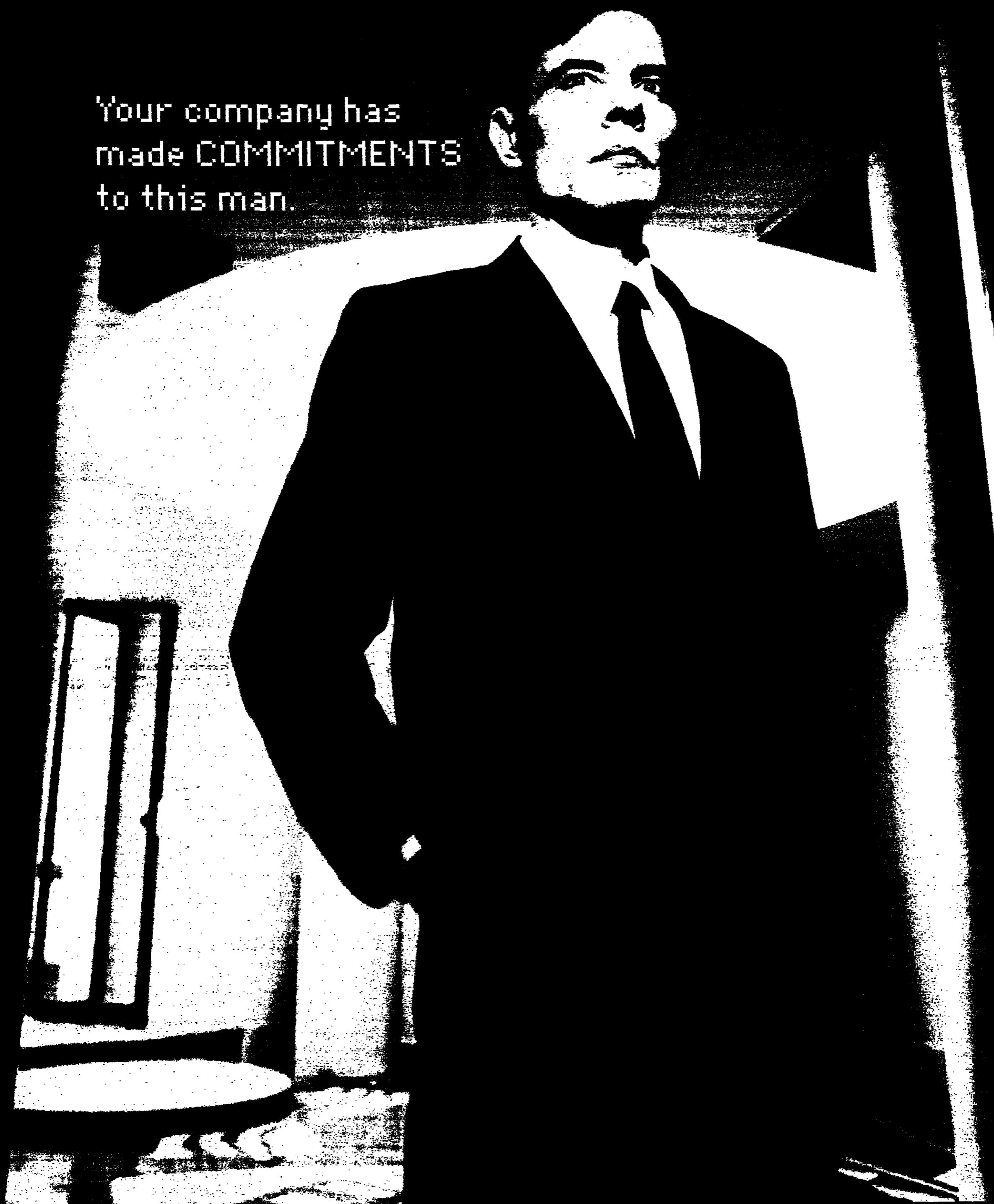
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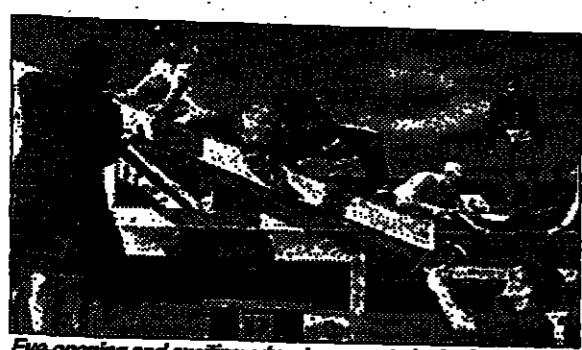
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LOOKING FOR A VACATION ADVENTURE

If lying on the beach doesn't provide a thrill, try rock climbing — or even building a house.

A vacation should ideally always be an adventure, which Webster's dictionary defines as "exciting or remarkable experience." Those who are really seeking to stretch themselves, rather than stretching themselves out on a beach, might want to sample one of the following programs, all of which offer physical challenges and/or the opportunity to make a difference to someone else in the world.

One way to reach thrilling heights is to scrabble up the face of a cliff, hanging on for dear life with fingers and toes. The Joshua Tree Rock Climbing School in the Joshua Tree National Park in southern California offers courses for everyone from rock-bottom beginners to those who want to lead-climbing groups. Says Mark Bowling, director of the school, "The guides are skilled rock climbers and instructors, and they make safety their prime concern." The park has more than 4,000 climbing sites for every level of skill.

Youngsters between the ages of 13 and 15 who are looking for a taste of adventure can join Adventure Pursuits' Teen Wilderness program. On the 18-day Rawhide, Rocks & Rapids trip, for example, they camp out in the Colorado wilderness and learn the skills involved in alpine backpacking, rock climbing and rappelling, horseback riding and white-water rafting.

Into the jungle. The islands, jungles and mountains of Indonesia offer myriad possibilities for adventure, and Adventure Indonesia takes visitors to a good number of them. Experienced guides lead visitors on climbs of the Carstensz Pyramid, the highest peak in Australasia, or trekking in the rain forests of Sumatra's Mount Kerinci, the highest volcano in Southeast Asia, populated with elephants, sun bears and tapirs. On Borneo, adventurers can spot orangutans and black orchids in the Tanjung Puting National Park. Other possibilities include visits to the forest tribes of Ujungkulon National Park, where the endangered Javan rhinoceros lives, or a trip from Java to Bali, during which participants visit the Borobudur Temple and learn about Indonesian history.

Immersia Travel's motto is, "Go beyond ordinary travel." This organization stresses informed travel, adventure and sustainable tourism (minimizing the negative impact on indigenous people and their environment). Trips to villages involve interaction with the people by helping them to get food or prepare meals, for example, or attend-

ing local festivals or rituals. Interested travelers can take part in 20-minute language courses given each morning to enable them to communicate on a basic level with the local people. A percentage of the company's profits is donated to organizations in the communities visited.

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The houses are constructed by volunteers who work alongside the future homeowners with donated money and materials. They are subsequently sold to the families at no profit and financed with interest-free loans. The monthly mortgage payments go into a fund that is used to build more houses. Habitat for Humanity currently has over 1,300 affiliates in the United States and 250 international affiliates coordinating around 800 building projects for families in some 59 countries around the world.

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dations, food, in-country transportation and a \$350 donation to Habitat for Humanity. One local woman who has a new Habitat house, Sarojini Chand, noted that in her new home she no longer had to worry about her children falling through the kitchen floor, as she had in her former home.

As Robyn Painter, a young volunteer who won a Habitat for Humanity trip to Vac, Hungary, puts it: "From the outset, my experience with the Habitat project was an amazing adventure."

Good turns

Several two-week trips are scheduled this year, and each participant pays around \$2,100, including airfare from Los Angeles, accommo-

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NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

**Consolidated prices for all shares traded
during week ended Friday, April 23**

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Herald Tribune

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESS/FINANCE

MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1999

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Are Chaebol Promises Of Reform Genuine?

Firms' Responses to Seoul Raise Doubts

By Don Kirk

International Herald Tribune

SEOUL — For the leaders of South Korea's biggest conglomerates, who are accustomed to bragging about the number of companies and the size of the assets in their sprawling empires, less nowadays is more.

"The focus is on selective core business," said Lee Chong Suk, senior executive vice president of LG Group, the fourth-largest conglomerate, or *chaebol*, at a briefing for foreign business people in Seoul. "Our goal is to integrate our resources."

Choi Eui Jong, vice president for restructuring of SK Group, the fifth-largest *chaebol*, agreed. "We have to change the system to maximize the efficiency of our group," he said. "We will focus on business which has proved core-competitive."

Chaebol leaders are trying to convince foreign investors that they are not just paying lip service to President Kim Dae Jung's demand for serious downsizing and restructuring. They are actually doing something, they say.

How much, though, are the *chaebol* really changing? And how much are they just talking about it to appease a government with which they have often appeared to be in conflict over the past year?

"There's a lot of smoke and mirrors," said Hank Morris, a longtime financial consultant in Seoul, after listening to executives from the top five *chaebol* present their programs at a recent briefing sponsored by the Federation of Korean Industries, a kind of club of *chaebol* executives.

Chaebol leaders got a dose of reality two weeks ago when the government issued a harsh warning that it would pressure state-owned banks to cut off the flow of credit to *chaebol* that refused to reform.

Faced with the end to an era of virtually unlimited financing for their expansion plans, the *chaebol* now seek to convey a single message gleaned from South Korea's economic crisis: The only way to survive is to jettison prized but superfluous assets.

Small wonder, then, that an appearance of strict compliance with the gov-

ernment's desires now dominates the pronouncements of *chaebol* executives — a year and a half after the government was forced to appeal to the International Monetary Fund for a rescue package to stave off bankruptcy.

The change is most apparent in the stated goals of Kim Woo Chong, founder and chairman of the Daewoo Group, the third-largest of the top five *chaebol* and probably the most reckless when it came to bold ventures backed by little guarantee of success.

Mr. Kim has put some of his most successful companies on the block to cut the group's debts of 59 trillion won (\$49.52 billion) by half. If all goes according to plan and Daewoo sells some of its entities, such as the shipbuilding unit of Daewoo Heavy Industries Ltd. and the Seoul Hilton Hotel, the group will pare its 34 companies to eight, all dominated by Daewoo Motor Co.

Daewoo, like all the other *chaebol*, says that it will cut its debt-to-equity ratio to less than 2 to 1 by the end of the year; the current level is around 3.5 to 1.

"For Daewoo to agree to such a drastic measure, they have to have had government pressure," said a foreign securities analyst, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "In Daewoo's case, the government has more leverage than the other five, just because they have so much debt."

The country's largest *chaebol*, Hyundai Group, has come up with its own sweeping plan, also under intense government pressure.

It announced Friday that by 2003 there would be no Hyundai Group at all. Rather, mighty Hyundai, which now has nearly 80 companies, would be divided into five groups, each of them under the aegis of one of the sons of the founder, Chung Ju Yung.

This is at least the third time in the past five years that Hyundai has announced restructuring plans. But instead of shrinking, the group has expanded its holdings in motor vehicles, electronics and energy by swallowing entities of hard-pressed rivals.

The result is that Hyundai, like Daewoo, now is wrestling with debts that have ballooned over the past year and a



A protester hurling a firebomb Sunday onto a blazing barricade in Seoul.

Korea Fights Strike Wave

Riot Police Storm Campus as Unrest Spreads

Agence France-Presse

SEOUL — South Korean riot police, backed by helicopters, stormed a university campus Sunday to disperse striking workers, amid growing concern about a wave of work stoppages.

The two-hour raid on Seoul National University followed a stern government warning against the *weeklong* wave of strikes that started Monday when subway workers walked out in protest against layoffs.

The subway strike has spread to 19 other state-run corporations and research institutes and grown to involve more than 20,000 workers.

The raid started after nightfall, when 2,000 riot police using a water cannon and a forklift smashed down barricades at the gates, sparking clashes with radical students and labor activists.

The protesters brandished steel pipes and set barricades of chairs and office furniture ablaze with dozens of firebombs. But they were immediately overwhelmed by the police and retreated into school buildings where some 2,500 striking workers and radical students have been holed up.

Simultaneous clashes erupted in eastern Seoul when police stopped hundreds of Korea Telecom workers from entering the Korea University campus, witnesses said. Scores of radical students dashed out of the campus and hurled a volley of firebombs.

Some 2,000 activists from Korea Telecom, a giant state-run telecommunications network, rallied earlier, vowing to go on strike starting Monday.

It was not clear how many protesters were injured or arrested Sunday.

The union's tough challenge prompted the government to warn that the wave of strikes, if unchecked, would scare away foreign investors.

The governing coalition, however, vowed to push ahead with its economic reform efforts and urged union leaders to stop fanning unrest.

"We will not succumb to the union's demands," an official statement said. "The government's restructuring drive must not be interrupted to help the country's economic recovery."

But the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions said it was ready to expand strikes including work stoppages Tuesday at Daewoo Motor Co. and four other major industrial plants.

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Q & A / Renato Ruggiero

WTO Chief Urges End to Fight Over Successor

International Herald Tribune
On Monday, Renato Ruggiero, the director-general of the World Trade Organization, since April 1995, begins his last week in office. But diplomats are still deadlocked about the choice of a successor. Mr. Ruggiero discussed this problem, and his view of major global trade issues, with Alan Friedman of the International Herald Tribune.

Q. The members of the WTO have been thus far unable to choose your successor and have been deadlocked between Mike Moore of New Zealand and Supachai Panitchpakdi of Thailand. Might you stay on longer if necessary?

A. No. I will finish my four-year term on Friday, April 30, 1999, and I will not serve another day. I am the fifth European director-general to head this organization, and the deal made when I was appointed was that my successor would be a non-European, after four years. And it is my duty to respect this agreement.

Q. But what would happen if WTO members cannot decide on a successor by April 30?

A. Governments have to find a solution. It would be very damaging if a solution is not found. We need a new D-G as soon as possible. This is a clear responsibility of member governments. The danger is that governments would not be prepared for the difficult new round of negotiations which will lead to the next minister-level conference in Seattle in November.

Q. What is your evaluation of the past four years at the WTO?

A. In reality the system has worked so well that we have reached all the goals we set for ourselves. This is not a personal success for me but a victory for the system. We have had two ministerial conferences, a 50th anniversary, and the political profile of this organization has been raised, so much so that we have been invited to many Group of Seven and other summit meetings, where we have been at the top table with leaders.

Q. What are the key accords over which you have presided?



Mr. Ruggiero: "In reality the system has worked so well that we have reached all the goals we set for ourselves."

A. We have three agreements covering 95 percent of the world market in telecommunications, financial services and information technology — more than \$1 trillion worth of trade.

And we have created a rules-based system with 168 cases in the new dispute settlement procedure, with 20 percent of them solved out of court.

Q. Do you think the financial-service liberalization was a good thing? Some in Asia argue that it may have exacerbated the Asian financial crisis.

A. The financial-service liberalization deal came in December 1997, at the worst moment of the Asian crisis, but it merely established the right of foreign financial institutions to open on the same conditions as local ones.

And this was considered so positive that by one month ago, parliaments representing 95 percent of world trade in this sector had ratified the agreement, including the Parliament of Malaysia.

Q. But some argue the liberalization made some emerging markets too vulnerable and that they were unprepared for market opening at the time.

A. Well, the new system only began to operate in February 1999, when all the parliaments ratified it.

And the fact that these governments, including many in Asia and Latin America, have ratified it means they want to restore credibility.

Q. How close is China to joining the WTO? Some say President Bill Clinton missed an opportunity by not closing the deal during the recent visit to the United States by Prime Minister Zhu Rongji.

A. I think that since the visit by China's prime minister there have been many encouraging signs, and I believe we can have China in the WTO before November, when the WTO begins its next trade round in agriculture, services and electronic commerce. Also, I think e-commerce is a very positive area for us because it unites developing and industrialized countries, it gives developing countries an opportunity to participate in world markets on an equal footing with bigger countries.

Q. How would you characterize trade relations between the United States and Europe in the wake of the banana battle? There is still much disagreement in other areas, such as beef hormones.

A. These two major trading partners share the same basic interests, and so I am extremely reluctant to speak of trade wars. I prefer to speak of trade disputes, which sometimes are very polemical.

But let us remember that there is a common interest in having open markets inside a rules-based system. So they fight, they yell, but at the end they agree.

Even in the banana case the EU has fully accepted the ruling we gave. As for hormones, it is a very difficult case because it is not about trade but about health, about scientific evidence that the measures taken by the Europeans are really needed.

Q. What will you do after you leave office?

A. I am retiring from an active role, and my main ambition is to write three books about my professional life. I have been a very lucky man. I have seen the rise and fall of the Soviet empire, I lived in the best period of European construction, and I helped to build a world trading system based on rules. I will write books, and I will join some major corporate boards in Italy, Europe, and in the United States.

A number of star nonsector funds saw dismal results. Transamerica Premier

Latest Technology Slide Rubbed Some Funds Raw

Overweighting Raises Risks, Investors Find

By Richard A. Oppel Jr.
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — The sell-off in technology and Internet stocks that climaxed Monday illustrated a Wall Street adage: When the tide goes out, you can see who has been swimming naked.

While technology stocks quickly recovered many of their losses over the next four days, the 5.6 percent sell-off Monday in the technology-heavy Nasdaq composite index offered some lessons to fund investors.

One was that the sizzling recent returns of so many diversified funds had been bought and paid for with enormous overweighting in the technology industry. In some cases, funds have one-quarter or more of their portfolios in just a few technology stocks.

Also instructive was the difference in performance among technology-heavy funds. T. Rowe Price Science and Technology, a sector fund benefit of Internet stocks and with a sizable cash position, fell just 3.2 percent Monday. But Robertson Stephens Emerging Growth, which is managed by Jim Callinan and holds a large number of new and volatile stocks, tumbled 10.9 percent.

"He swings for the fences," said Michael Stolper, a San Diego-based financial adviser, referring to Mr. Callinan. "For people looking to put new money to work, he said, the episode should help them 'at least think a little bit before they hop into some of these funds that have gone up a ton.'

David Testa, chief investment officer at T. Rowe Price Associates Inc., the big Baltimore-based fund company, says the lack of diversity in some diversified funds is becoming more of an issue.

"This has been a more acute problem in the short run than it has been in the long run because it has been such a narrow market," he said, "and the chance to stand out because of one or two stocks has been very high."

One fund that has drawn much attention for concentrated stakes in hot stocks is Legg Mason Value Trust, run by William Miller 3d.

The fund had just a 3.8 percent loss Monday, even though America Online Inc. and Dell made up more than 20 percent of its portfolio last week.

Harder-hit growth funds "own Microsoft and Lucent and EMC and Home Depot and had all of the classic high-multiple growth names, and that's not what we own," said Mr. Miller, referring to the balance of his portfolio. "The rest of the stuff we own is very conventional — banks, mortgage insurancce, stuff like that."

One top-performing fund, Vanguard Primecap, fell just 1.2 percent Monday even though technology made up 34 percent of its portfolio last month. Primecap owned the right type of stocks, said Jeffrey Molitor, Vanguard's director of portfolio review.

"It hasn't owned any of those big Internet names," Mr. Molitor said. "They've never owned Microsoft, but within tech, they've had terrific results."

The sell-off came as huge amounts of new money were pouring into technology specialty funds. In the past, such surges have sometimes signaled sector tops. Already this year, net cash flows into such funds have surpassed \$5.4 billion, with a record \$1.6 billion flowing in during the first three weeks of April, according to AMG Data Services, a research firm in Arcata, California.

Technology stocks may continue to surge. But Mr. Stolper said the sell-off Monday should remind investors of the risks. "If you want to be there, you better take motion-sickness pills," he said. "This volatility isn't going to stop."

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CHAEBOL: Are Firms' Promises of Reform Genuine?

Continued from Page 15

half to nearly 80 billion won and a debt-to-equity ratio of 4.5 to 1.

Park Se Yong, leader of Hyundai's restructuring team, vowed that Hyundai would get rid of 53 of its companies, cutting the debt to 45 trillion won.

The core companies it keeps, Mr. Park said, will compete among the "global top 10" in their fields. Acquisition of LG Semicon Co. by Hyundai Electronics Industries Co., in a deal completed Friday, is expected to turn the company into the world's largest producer of semiconductors, while the takeover of Kia Motor Corp. earlier this year should vault Hyundai Motor Co. into the top 10 motor-vehicle manufacturers.

Analysts noted, however, that plans to break up the Hyundai Group by 2003 may be a device for some companies, such as Hyundai Petrochemical Co. and Hyundai Oil Refinery Co., to do business as usual as portions of separate groups under sons and relatives of the Hyundai founder, Chung Ju Yung, now 84 and ailing.

Another question is who will buy entities that Hyundai, Daewoo and others say are seriously putting up for sale.

"We're open to any opportunity," said Kim Tae Gon, president of Daewoo Motor and also in charge of restructuring. "That's our first priority — to sell."

In a pattern that typifies cash-strapped South Korean companies, however, Daewoo has put price tags on some of its entities that buyers may view as too high. Daewoo is asking \$4 billion for its shipbuilding operation and \$900 million for the commercial-vehicle division of Daewoo Heavy Industries.

So what happens if and when a chaebol fails to find the buyers for the entities it has said it will sell?

Analysts suggested the chaebol, in defiance of government policy, would be likely to appeal to the

banks for more credit, as they have repeatedly done in the past.

"They can say, 'We tried and failed because the other side wouldn't cooperate, so now you Korean banks have to help,'" Mr. Morris said.

The chaebol, analysts noted, have periodically produced elaborate restructuring plans, only to drop them after an initial burst of publicity.

"My view is there is nothing special about the Daewoo plan," said Edward Campbell-Harris, manager of Jardine Fleming Securities in Seoul. "Clearly Daewoo is in a tight spot. We have to see if their price tags are realistic. From an investor's point of view, we want to see if this isn't hot air to boost the stock prices."

Chaebol executives staunchly deny any intent to deceive, listing "transparency" as one of their primary goals. That is in accordance not only with the government but the demands of the International Monetary Fund when it created its \$60 billion rescue package.

The family ownership of all the chaebol, however, raises doubts about how transparent the chaebol are likely to be even though they promise to meet demands for consolidated financial statement and appointment of outside directors.

"The problem with Daewoo is no one knows what's going on," Mr. Campbell-Harris said. "It's all in Chairman Kim Woo Chong's head. No one can get to the root. You have to piece up a huge puzzle."

The same applies to all the other chaebol, each of them dominated by its founder or the founder's heirs. The fact that the chaebol have again come up with elaborate restructuring plans, however, at least partly, are worried that the government may back up its threats to force banks to cut off credit entirely.

"Fighting the Korean government is not realistic," Mr. Morris said. "You can't reject the government's policy for reform and restructuring forever."

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INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE, MONDAY, APRIL 26, 1999

U.S. MUTUAL FUNDS									
Figures as of close of trading Friday, April 23									
S&P 500: 1,035.00									
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This table shows the performance of Nasdaq-listed mutual funds through Friday and includes the top 4,000 funds in terms of assets. There are roughly 6,150 funds currently listed on Nasdaq. Group names are shown in bold face, with total fund names in each group indented below. Funds that are not part of a group are not indented.

NAV is the net asset value, i.e. the portfolio value divided by the number of shares outstanding, reported by the fund through Nasdaq. NAV excludes all sales or redemption charges. Change share

Name field footnotes : c - available only through
front and back or contiguous

contractual plan: n - no front-end load or contract; d - deferred sales load; p - fund assets are used to pay distribution costs; r - redemption fee or contract

distribution costs; f - nonresponsible law or otherwise; deferred sales load may apply; t - footnotes pertain to apply.

Price Yield factors : a - ex capital gains distribution; b - previous day's quotation; c - share price in previous day's quotation.

30 + 21 dividend or split; x - ex cash dividend.

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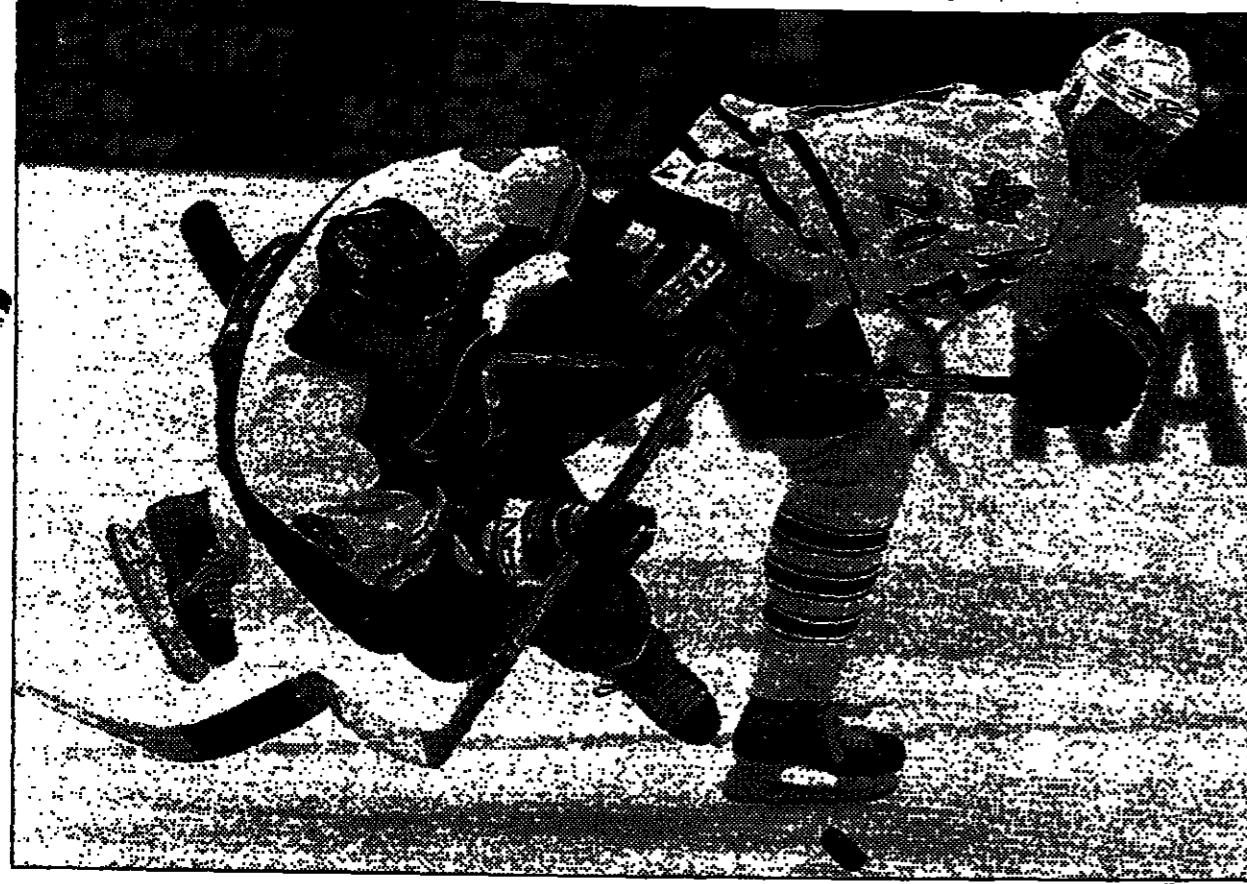
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SPORTS

Red Sox Rally to Defeat Indians

Martinez Retires 14 of First 17 Batters He Faces in 3-2 Victory



Mike Johnson of the Maple Leafs, right, knocking Jody Hall of the Flyers off his skates in Toronto's 2-1 victory.

Wild Goal Lifts Carolina Over Bruins

The Associated Press

Ray Sheppard scored his second goal of the game off a wild scramble with 2:55 left in overtime to give the Carolina Hurricanes victory, 3-2, over the visiting Boston Bruins and tie their Eastern Conference series at 1-1.

Steve Chiasson, a defenseman, set up the game-winning goal Saturday night with a slap shot that the Boston goalie,

NHL PLAYOFFS

Byron Dafoe, stopped but could not hold. The puck rebounded into a crowd of players. Martin Gelinas banged a shot off the left post and the puck flew right to Sheppard, who scored.

"When I get in there, I just look for the puck. I don't look for anything else," said Sheppard, who scored his 26th and 27th career playoff goals.

The Hurricanes overcame the loss of Ron Francis, who sprained an ankle in the series opener.

Carolina also had to play with only four defensemen from the second period on after losing Marek Malik to a thigh bruise and Nolan Pratt to a groin strain.

Maple Leafs 2, Flyers 1 Toronto scored twice in the last two minutes to beat visiting Philadelphia and square the playoff series at 1-1. Keith Jones scored for Philadelphia in the first period.

Steve Thomas tied the score with 1:59 remaining. It was the first goal John Vanbiesbrouck, the Flyers goalie, had allowed in 118 minutes of the first-round playoff series.

Then, with 52.4 seconds left, Mats Sundin knocked a rebound past Vanbiesbrouck to give Toronto victory.

Coyotes 4, Blues 3 Shane Doan scored 8:58 into overtime as the Phoenix Coyotes won at home, ending the St. Louis goaltender Grant Fuhr's playoff domination of their franchise and tying the first-round series 1-1.

Dallas Drake, Teppo Numminen and Keith Carney also scored for Phoenix, while Al MacInnis, Pierre Turgeon and Pavol Demitra scored for St. Louis.

Fuhr had won 16 of 17 previous playoff games against the Coyotes, a string that started when the franchise was still in Winnipeg.

Penguins 4, Devils 1 The Pittsburgh Penguins, playing without league-leading

scorer Jaromir Jagr, relied on a strong defensive game to win in New Jersey and even the playoff series at 1-1.

Jagr, the Penguins' team captain, was scratched just before the game because of a groin injury suffered in the Penguins' loss Thursday in Game 1.

Aleksey Morozov, Greg Andrusak, Martin Straka and Alex Kovalev's defense suffocated the Devils.

Tom Barrasso stopped 25 shots for the Penguins before Dave Andreychuk finally scored for the Devils from close in with 8:19 left.

Avalanche 3, Sharks 1 Patrick Roy stopped 42 shots and Joe Sakic had two goals and an assist as the Colorado Avalanche's playoff series finally started in San Jose, California.

The first two games, scheduled for Denver, had been postponed because of the massacre at Columbine High School near Denver.

Roy's 100th playoff victory stretched his National Hockey League record.

Sandis Ozolish, a former Shark, added a goal and an assist for Colorado.

Celtics Deal Wizards 5th Straight Loss

The Associated Press

BOSTON — Dana Barros scored 20 points and Walter McCarty added a season-high 17 as the Boston Celtics beat the Washington Wizards, 113-84, on Sunday.

Mitch Richmond led the Wizards with 18 points and Otis Thorpe had 15, but their efforts were not enough to prevent Washington from losing its fifth straight game and seventh in a row on the road.

Boston took the lead on a Ron Mercer jump shot with 3:48 left in the first quarter and put the game out of reach with an 11-4 run in the first three minutes of the third quarter. It was Boston's second consecutive victory and broke a two-game home losing streak.

The Wizards opened the fourth quarter with a 4-0 run on baskets by Richmond and Ben Wallace that sliced the "Celtics" lead to 84-71. It was the closest Washington had come since the first minute of the second half.

But Paul Pierce scored five conse-

utive points as the Celtics regained a 94-71 margin with 8:51 left in the game.

Vitali Potapenko's jump shot with 3:46 left in the third quarter capped a 6-

NBA ROUNDUP

0 Celtics run to give them a 78-56 lead, their biggest of the game. McCarty scored 12 points in the first half — 10 in the second quarter — as the Celtics took a 52-38 lead at intermission.

In games played Saturday:

Spurs 108, Lakers 81 Tim Duncan had 21 points and 13 rebounds as the Spurs snapped a six-game losing streak against the visiting Lakers.

Pacers 87, Bulls 86 Reggie Miller scored 20 points as Indiana won in Indianapolis to complete its first season sweep of Chicago in 19 years.

Hornets 97, Nets 82 David Wesley had 19 points and nine assists as Charlotte won at home to keep up its pursuit of a playoff berth.

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Red Sox Rally to Defeat Indians

Martinez Retires 14 of First 17 Batters He Faces in 3-2 Victory

The Associated Press

BOSTON — Pedro Martinez pitched a seven-hitter and Jason Varitek hit a two-run double in the seventh inning to lead the Boston Red Sox to a 3-2 victory over the Cleveland Indians on Sunday.

Martinez (4-0), who retired 14 of the first 17 batters he faced, struck out 10 to become the second four-game winner in the American League. He allowed an

Varitek and walked Darren Lewis before striking out Offerman and getting Frye to ground into a double play.

In games played Saturday:

Mariners 9, Devil Rays 4 Ken Griffey hit two of the Mariners' six solo home runs as Seattle snapped the Tampa Bay Devil Rays' franchise-record six-game winning streak.

Griffey went 4-for-5 and drove in three runs. He and Jay Buhner homered on back-to-back pitches as the visiting Mariners hit three solo homers during a four-run fourth inning.

Damon Buford saved at least one run for the Red Sox in the sixth, making a diving catch on Roberto Alomar's fly ball and doubling Lofton off second base. Bartolo Colon, also looking for his fourth victory, was almost as tough as Martinez, allowing one run and seven hits in six innings.

Paul Shuey (2-1) started the seventh and allowed a one-out single to Mike Stanley, a walk to Troy O'Leary and a single to Buford to load the bases. Varitek followed with a double down the right-field line to make it 3-1.

The Red Sox led off the game with back-to-back doubles to take a 1-0 lead. Jose Offerman doubled off the wall and Jeff Frye brought him in on a double down the right-field line.

Colon bailed himself out of a few early jams, striking out Frye with runners on first and second in the second, and whiffing Buford with runners on second and third in the third. In the fourth, he gave up a leadoff single to

White Sox 7, Blue Jays 4 Chil Davis's three-run homer in the eighth inning broke a tie and carried the Yankees to victory against Toronto in New York.

New York, which trailed 2-0 early on, scored four unearned runs off Roy Halladay in the fourth on two-run singles by Chuck Knoblauch and Derek Jeter. Halladay issued a pair of two-out walks, wrapped around an error by the second baseman, Pat Kelly, to fill the bases. Knoblauch and Jeter followed with a four-run fourth inning.

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WORLD ROUNDUP

Leeds Trips Manchester United**Selig Urges Teams To Hire Minorities**

BASEBALL Bud Selig, the U.S. baseball commissioner, has ordered team owners to consider minority candidates for openings in all positions, including the posts of general manager and manager.

In a letter to clubs, Selig said he must be notified when a job comes up and provided with a list of people being considered. "I expect the list to include minority candidates," he wrote. "I will provide assistance to you if you cannot identify candidates on your own." Selig also said he would discipline clubs that did not "aggressively pursue equal opportunities and initiatives." (NYT)

Elway Said Set to Retire

FOOTBALL John Elway, the Denver Broncos quarterback who spearheaded some of the most stirring comebacks in National Football League history, is expected to announce his retirement as early as Monday. Elway, who turns 39 in June, told several close friends of his plans after deciding that the lure of an unprecedented third-consecutive Super Bowl title was not enough to coax him back for a 17th NFL season, according to published reports in Denver. (WP)

Sanchez Vicario Wins

TENNIS Top-seeded Arantxa Sanchez Vicario of Spain won the inaugural Egypt Classic on Sunday, routing the fifth seed, Irina Spirlea of Romania, 6-1, 6-0. Sanchez Vicario dominated throughout, engaging Spirlea in long rallies. (AP)

Sandelin Takes Open

GOLF Jarmo Sandelin won the Spanish Open on Sunday in El Prat, near Barcelona, with a final-round 3-under-par 59. The Swede finished at 267, 21 under par, four strokes ahead of Paul McGinley. (AP)

A Rally for Australia

CRICKET Australia rallied from 119 for six to a satisfying 252 for nine Sunday in the seventh and final one-day cricket international against the West Indies in Bridgetown, Barbados. Tom Moody hit an unbeaten 50 and Shane Lee 47, the pair sharing the highest partnership of the innings, 56 for the seventh wicket. (AP)

Boogerd Beats Armstrong

CYCLING Michael Boogerd, a Dutchman who rides for the Rabobank team, beat Lance Armstrong, an American with the U.S. Postal team, in the final sprint Saturday to win the Amstel Gold Race. Boogerd and Armstrong were part of a four-man breakaway. (AFP)

Draw Allows Streaking Arsenal to Seize First Place in England

Compiled by Our Staff From Despatches

Manchester United surrendered first place in the English Premier League on Sunday, four days after it reached the Champions Cup final.

Manchester United drew, 1-1, at fourth-place Leeds United on Sunday, allowing Arsenal to keep the top position it took by winning, 6-1, at Middlesbrough on Saturday.

The race for the title now appears to be between the top two clubs after third-place Chelsea could manage only a lackluster 0-0 draw Sunday against lowly Sheffield Wednesday.

Leeds dominated the possession in the first half and took the lead in the 32d minute on a goal by Jimmy Floyd Hasselbaink.

In the 57th minute, Nigel Martyn, the Leeds goalie, blocked a header by Nicky Butt, but Andy Cole slammed the rebound into the net from close range. Manchester United almost stole a victory in the dying seconds, but Dwight Yorke sent a left-foot shot over the top of the goal.

United trails Arsenal by two points but has played one game less. Arsenal, which made a late run to win the title last year, is in first place for the first time this season. The Gunners have scored 11 goals in winning their last two matches.

On Saturday, Nicolas Anelka and Nwankwo Kanu each scored twice as Arsenal won at Middlesbrough.

NETHERLANDS Feyenoord Rotterdam clinched its 14th Dutch championship Sunday with an inglorious 2-2 draw at home against NAC Breda, the bottom club in the league.

The Rotterdam club, which last won

the title in 1993, has a total of 71 points and cannot be caught.

Dmitri Shoukov gave NAC, which needs points to climb out of last place and avoid automatic relegation to the second division, a 19th-minute lead.

Jon Dahl Tomasson and Julio Ricardo Cruz put Feyenoord ahead by halftime. But Kees van Wonderen, a Feyenoord

EUROPEAN SOCCER

defender, then gifted the ball to Archil Arveladze, an NAC forward, who rounded Jurek Dudek, the Feyenoord goalie, to make the score 2-2.

ITALY Lazio of Rome won for the first time in four matches and clung to its one-point lead over AC Milan at the top of Serie A on Sunday. Christian Vieri scored the only goal with a header in the 60th minute as Lazio won, 1-0, over Sampdoria in Genoa.

Both teams finished the game with 10 men. Matias Almeyda, Lazio's Argentine midfielder, was sent off after 66 minutes. Six minutes later, Ariel Ortega, Sampdoria's Argentinian midfielder, received a red card. Almeyda will be suspended next week when Lazio visits Udinese.

AC Milan continued its strong play with a 2-0 victory at Vicenza. Oliver Bierhoff gave Milan the lead with a header in the 39th minute. Leonardo, the veteran Brazilian striker, scored the second goal in the second half. Fiorentina, the early-season leader, conceded a goal with three minutes to play and lost, 2-1, at Juventus. Filippo Inzaghi gave the host a 24th minute lead. Luis Oliveira then leveled with five

minutes to play, but Paolo Conte gave Juventus victory two minutes later.

Fiorentina trails Lazio by nine points, and its grip on third place and the Champions Cup berth it offers is weakening. Juventus climbed to sixth place, just three points behind Fiorentina.

SPAIN Sergio Corino scored in the 55th minute Sunday to give last-place Salamanca a 1-1 draw against Real Madrid and thwart the latter's bid to move into second place behind FC Barcelona.

Raul Gonzalez put Real Madrid ahead in the 48th minute on a pass from Pedja Mijanovic. But Corino stunned the visiting team minutes later by putting a free kick past its substitute goalkeeper, Pedro Manuel Contreras.

In misfiring against the Spanish first division's most porous defense, Real Madrid squandered a golden opportunity to advance in the standings, dropping instead from fourth to fifth place with 53 points.

Celta, which tied Valencia, 2-2, on Saturday, is in second place, followed by Mallorca, which trounced Athletic Bilbao, 6-1, on Sunday. Deportivo La Coruna, which beat Valladolid, 3-0, is in fourth place. Barcelona, the league leader, was to play a late match Sunday against Atletico Madrid.

GERMANY Bayern Munich, the Champions League finalist, conceded a late goal to be held to a 1-1 draw by its cross-town rival, 1860 Munich, in a Bundesliga match Sunday.

The defender Markus Babbel pounced on a rebound to score from close range in the 75th to give Bayern the lead before 69,000 at Munich's Olympic stadium. But Marco Kurz scored in the



Matthew Jones of Leeds United, left, and Dwight Yorke of Manchester United trying to gain some leverage Sunday as they chase the ball. (AP Wirephoto)

over Bayer Leverkusen cut to eight points; 1860 Munich remained ninth.

Bayern Munich is to meet Manchester United in the Champions Cup final.

(AP, AFP, Reuters)

Kuerten and Sore Thigh Defeat Rios

By Sal A. Zanca
Special to the Herald Tribune

MONTE CARLO — Two years ago, Marcelo Rios won the Monte Carlo Open and became the big favorite to win the French Open. That title, however, went to Gustavo Kuerten of Brazil, who lit up Roland Garros with his play and his bright blue-and-yellow outfit.

Since then, the two men's paths have gone in different directions. Kuerten didn't win another tournament for more than a year. Rios, meanwhile, fulfilled his promise and last year briefly became the world's No. 1 player. But injuries prevented him from keeping the top spot.

On Sunday, an injury again cost Rios the chance of winning a tournament when he faced Kuerten in the final of the Monte Carlo Open. It was a strained right thigh that ended the Chilean's quest after less than an hour. Rios quit with Kuerten leading, 6-4, 2-1.

"Sometimes you have to listen to your body," Rios said. "Even if it's a final, I have many years to play, and I don't want to be injured again and stop for another five months. I thought I would stop right now and not give it a chance to get worse."

A back injury has limited Rios to just six tournaments in 1999, and he had to

play five matches in six days here.

Rios said he strained his leg two weeks ago and that it became worse after his semifinal Saturday. He said he had received treatment and hoped his leg would hold up for Sunday's best-of-five-set final.

After the seventh game, however, he had to get his right thigh wrapped. Kuerten then won the next three games to take the first set, 6-4. In the second set, Rios

MONTE CARLO OPEN

started to limit his efforts. He stopped running after shots that were out of his range, and he started charging the net.

"I was trying to play short points rather than rallying from the baseline," he said. "It's a five-set match. Even if you can play a couple of sets, it's not enough. We're professionals. If that's why I didn't continue play."

Rios ended the third game with three unforced errors. He then went to his chair, unwrapped the bandage around the thigh and went over to shake Kuerten's hand, indicating he had given up.

The tournament doctor said further treatment over the next week would determine how much time Rios would need to recover.

Rios has had a history of injuries. He was not able to defend his Monte Carlo title in 1998 because of an elbow injury. Hamstring and hip problems hampered him last autumn.

Although he ended the year ranked No. 2 behind Pete Sampras, a back injury forced him out of the year-end ATP Tour final and out of the Australian Open in January.

In Monte Carlo, Kuerten played well during the week to advance to his first final in six months. It was only the fourth title of his career.

Kuerten said Sunday that he had been unprepared for his victory at Roland Garros in 1997. "So I won there," he said. "It was two unbelievable weeks that I really played well, but I still had to work on many things to get to this level that I am now. I've been able to keep playing well for a longer time, for weeks maybe. I'm only losing when the guy really plays well. So I'm getting more consistent during this year, and I'm really learning and improving a lot."

Rios was the latest in a string of players to be eliminated at the tournament without losing on the court. Pete Sampras dropped out before the start because of pain in his back, and Andre Agassi left the competition Tuesday, citing a sore shoulder.

Lord Killanin, 84, President Of the IOC in the 1970s, Dies

Reuters

LONDON — Lord Killanin, who piloted the Olympic Games through political boycotts in 1976 and 1980, died Sunday at age 84.

A former war correspondent and film producer, Lord Killanin was elected president of the International Olympic Committee just days before the 1972 Munich Games were shattered by an attack by Palestinian guerrillas who killed 11 Israeli competitors and officials. He did not take office until after the Games but was involved in dealing with the tragedy as the committee's first vice president.

He served as the IOC's president until 1980.

Lord Killanin, died at his home in Dublin, Britain's Press Association news agency said, quoting members of his family.

Lord Killanin was elected president of the Olympic Council of Ireland in 1950 and became a member of the IOC in 1952. He became a vice president in 1968 before taking on the top job four years later.

In 1976, African nations walked out

of the Montreal Games in protest against a New Zealand rugby union tour of South Africa in the same year.

Four years later, President Jimmy Carter led a Western boycott of the Moscow Games in protest against the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in the previous year. In the two months before the Moscow Games, Lord Killanin visited both President Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow and Carter in Washington.

Even before the boycotts of 1976 and 1980, Lord Killanin was well aware of the influence politics could have on the Games. In January 1975, he wrote in a book on the Olympics:

"The Games have also attracted more and more political attention. The arenas and the village have become a platform for expressions of those seeking new freedoms and self-determination within our society."

Just before the Moscow Games, the present IOC chief, Juan Antonio Samaranch, was elected president and Lord Killanin was named an honorary life president.

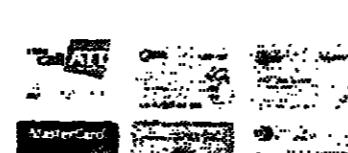


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